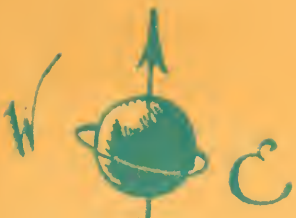




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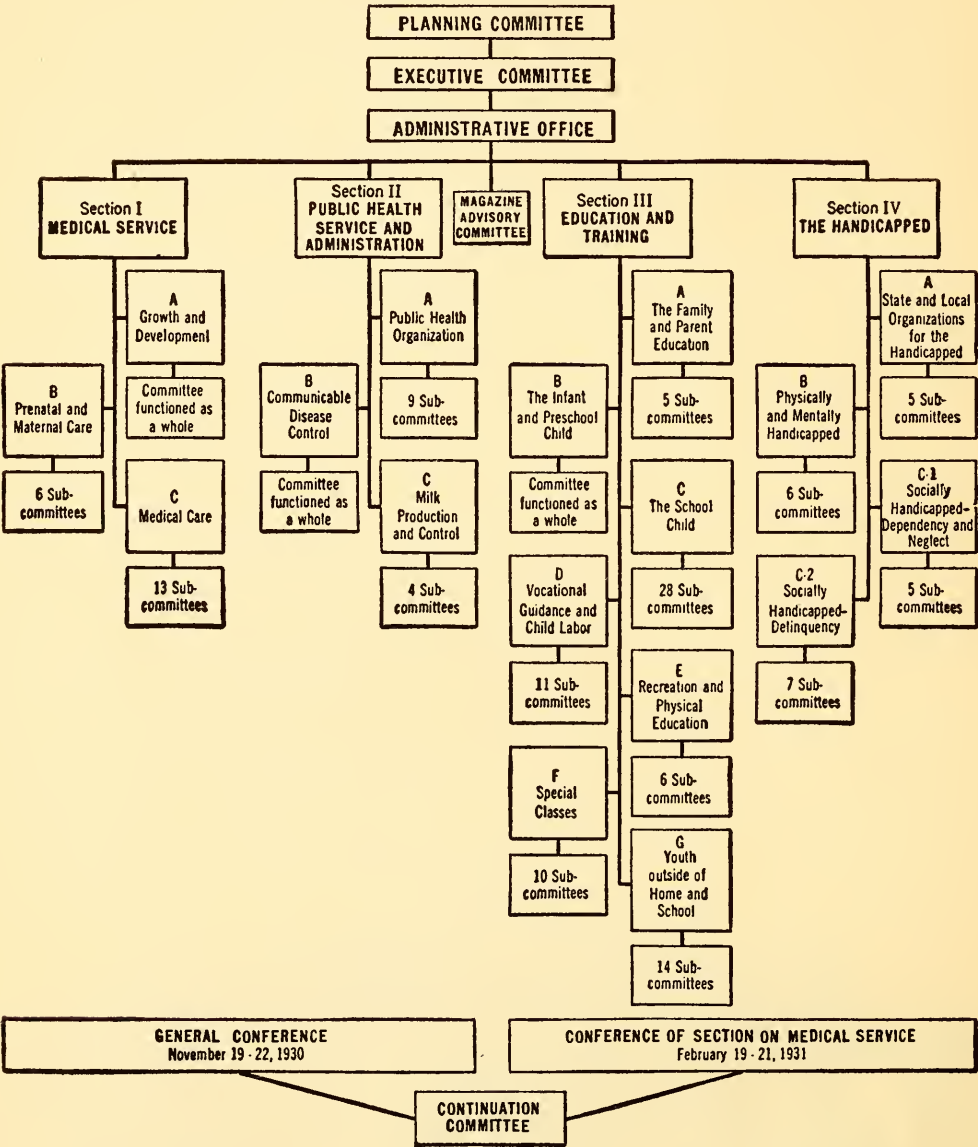
WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE
ON CHILD HEALTH AND
PROTECTION

Called by
PRESIDENT HOOVER



WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON CHILD HEALTH
AND PROTECTION

Called by President Hoover



SECTION IV—THE HANDICAPPED:
PREVENTION, MAINTENANCE, PROTECTION

C. C. CARSTENS, PH.D., *Chairman*

Committee on

NATIONAL, STATE AND LOCAL ORGANIZATION FOR
THE HANDICAPPED

KATE BURR JOHNSON, *Chairman*

ORGANIZATION FOR THE CARE OF
HANDICAPPED CHILDREN

XIX To make everywhere available these minimum protections of the health and welfare of children, there should be a district, county, or community organization for health, education, and welfare, with full-time officials, coordinating with a state-wide program which will be responsive to a nation-wide service of general information, statistics, and scientific research. This should include:

- (a) Trained, full-time public health officials, with public health nurses, sanitary inspection, and laboratory workers
- (b) Available hospital beds
- (c) Full-time public welfare service for the relief, aid, and guidance of children in special need due to poverty, misfortune, or behavior difficulties, and for the protection of children from abuse, neglect, exploitation, or moral hazard

From THE CHILDREN'S CHARTER

ORGANIZATION FOR THE CARE OF HANDICAPPED CHILDREN

NATIONAL · STATE · LOCAL

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON
NATIONAL, STATE AND LOCAL
ORGANIZATION FOR THE HANDICAPPED

KATE BURR JOHNSON, *Chairman*

WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON
CHILD HEALTH AND PROTECTION



THE CENTURY CO.

NEW YORK

LONDON

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Dedicated to

THE CHILDREN OF AMERICA

WHOSE FACES ARE TURNED TOWARD THE LIGHT
OF A NEW DAY AND WHO MUST BE PREPARED TO
MEET A GREAT ADVENTURE

SECTION IV
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FOREWORD

THE Committee on National, State and Local Organization for the Handicapped, consisting of thirty-one members, at its organization meeting in New York in November, 1929, divided its work among six subcommittees. Each of these concentrated on some one phase of the present status of organization for the care of handicapped children in the United States. The point of view and method of approach for the report as a whole was formulated by the Committee, and the reports of the subcommittees were developed in close cooperation with the chairman, Mrs. Kate Burr Johnson, and Miss Mary S. Labaree, who was research secretary for most of the time. The original plan of work was developed however under the guidance of the first secretary, Miss Rhoda Kaufman, who was obliged to resign as secretary but who continued to serve as a member of the Committee.

Because of the recent noteworthy developments in organization for handicapped children in the public field, especially in local and state departments, the Committee has emphasized this phase of the subject rather than organization in the private field. This seemed especially desirable since in the last analysis the welfare of any group in the population depends upon the recognition of its needs by the government, and can be assured only to the extent to which government assumes responsibility for it.

Since our forty-eight states, each with different laws and different methods of organization present such a wide field, the work of the Subcommittee on State Departments Dealing with the Handicapped was subdivided among six groups, each dealt with some one phase of the subject.

Each subcommittee of the general Committee conducted its work on independent lines using different methods of securing information. Much valuable data were made avail-

able to Committee members by individuals and agencies who gave freely of their time and service. Through the kindness of the Social Service Division of the United States Children's Bureau and the Graduate School of Social Service of the University of Chicago, it was possible to utilize information obtained from studies of the statutes of all the states pertaining to their organization for child welfare, their settlement laws and their general policies. Richard K. Conant of the Massachusetts Department of Public Welfare made possible a three months' study of direct care of children by state welfare departments, with special reference to the Massachusetts department. This study was made by Miss Sarah H. Spencer. A joint study of county work for children, participated in by all the Committees of Section IV, was carried on under the leadership of Miss H. Ida Curry and her Committee on Local Public Units of Child Care and Protection, the six months' field work was done by Miss Susan M. Boyd and the research by Doctor Roy M. Brown.

Since it is impossible to mention all the consultants who made the Committees' work possible, the Committee wishes to acknowledge with thanks the assistance that was received from many who allowed the use of file material and unpublished manuscripts, and who in various other ways helped Committee members.

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SUMMARY AND GENERAL
RECOMMENDATIONS

ORGANIZATION FOR THE CARE OF HANDICAPPED CHILDREN

SUMMARY

CHILD welfare work of today is based upon certain cardinal principles. Among these are:

The duty of government to assure to every child proper protection and support and opportunity to develop to his fullest capacity.

The further duty of government to safeguard family life in so far as possible from social and economic disorders.

The need for an organization of public and private social work that will ensure the early discovery of all handicapped children, and the provision of needed care and individual service, close at hand, for as long a period as the need lasts.

The responsibility of government and private philanthropy to provide sufficient funds to meet the needs of all handicapped children in the proper way.

The need for a minimum standard of service to which all public and private child caring organizations must conform.

The need for a coordinated and unified program of child welfare in every state and community, in which each public and private agency has a definite place.

Noteworthy developments have occurred in the child welfare field showing progress in acceptance of these principles. There has been, for instance, a great extension of public aid to dependent children in their own homes. More attention is being given to the correction of economic and

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social evils endangering family life. There has been an awakening on the part of local and state government to its responsibility for the welfare of its children, as indicated in the widespread organization of state welfare departments with special responsibilities for children, and in the movement to create better and more comprehensive child welfare service in local governmental units. In many localities there are now attempts to coordinate existing child welfare agencies into a unified program and thus to insure a comprehensive service reaching all children without duplication of effort or waste of funds. These hopeful developments are not, however, to be found everywhere. The new principles of child care may be generally recognized in theory but they are by no means universally accepted in practice.

There has been a tendency to believe that there can be one panacea for treating children in need of care. This has led to the establishment of a multiplicity of agencies of the same sort, to the exclusion of other kinds of agencies as much, if not more, needed. There has been too great an emphasis on providing care for children away from their own homes. Few agencies have been equipped to prevent or remedy conditions disruptive to family life or hostile to child welfare. Neither have there been many organizations, public or private, to reconstruct families from which children were removed, and to which a great number ultimately drifted back. All children in need of care will not receive the necessary service until there is a more general acceptance and practice of the fundamental principles of modern child welfare work.

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND CHILD WELFARE

The American child welfare program from the standpoint of public administration may be likened in form to a pyramid. At the base stand the counties, municipalities, and villages which deal at first hand with the entire range of problems affecting the well-being of children. Somewhat

higher in the structure come the state governments with a narrower range of administrative responsibility. At the top of the pyramid is the federal government stimulating the states and localities to more effective child care through research, advice, and the dissemination of sound principles. Apart from this advisory service to the states, the federal government has a more direct responsibility for the welfare of children in the District of Columbia, in the territories and dependencies, and on Indian reservations.

Child welfare presents certain international problems which can be handled only by the federal government in conference with other nations or through informal discussion between groups and committees from this and other countries. The importance of international phases of child welfare is growing rapidly as the movement grows to level upwards standards of care and protection for children throughout the world.

A National Minimum of Child Welfare

Conditions show the need of a leadership on the part of the federal government in defining and promoting an American standard of living and the rights of childhood which may be accepted as a "national minimum." The widespread recognition of such a minimum would affect profoundly the health, happiness, and general welfare of all children throughout the country. The development of standards is an evolving process as new needs and new possibilities appear, and should be carried on by the federal government in cooperation with the states.

Under the constitutional limitations at present characterizing the federal government, the powers of the federal government are restricted to the conduct of research, the collection and dissemination of information, the development of consultation service by which the individual states can be assisted in developing their special services, and sharing the costs of work which meets required standards of pro-

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ficiency by the use of the grant-in-aid. The establishment of a comprehensive, continuous service to the childhood of the states, territories, and possessions is a high obligation of the federal government, and such assistance and stimulation should be applied to the widest possible range of problems in the most generous way consistent with the interest of the taxpayer.

Grants-in-Aid

Grants-in-aid constitute the most effective basis for national and state cooperation in promoting child welfare and in securing the establishment of that national minimum of care and protection which is the hope of every citizen. Such grants are already an established governmental procedure in this country and have been widely used in England. Grants-in-aid constitute a governmental technique peculiarly fashioned to the needs of the American people and nicely adjusted to the American governmental structure under the Constitution.

Maternity and infancy aid is of fundamental importance in the social welfare field as well as in the health field. The benefits of such aid should be made available to the territories and dependencies. Grants-in-aid should be extended to the states to promote the proper care and protection of the dependent, delinquent and handicapped child.

THE STATE AND CHILD WELFARE

The state has a distinct responsibility to see that all its children are protected, given proper support, care, and education, and are provided with opportunity so that each may develop to his fullest capacity. In meeting this responsibility states are brought into relationship with the federal government on the one hand and local governmental bodies and private child caring agencies on the other. It is essential, therefore, that every state have a central authority through which these relationships may be maintained.

Welfare Departments

A state welfare department, preferably with a division in which will be found the various services needed for the care of handicapped children, is the best means for exercising this authority. Such a department should be found in every state, territory, and possession of the United States. Constructive development of service to children depends upon leadership from a department organized for child welfare and acting on knowledge of conditions throughout the state or territory.

Such leadership can be sound and progressive only if based on adequate data, regularly collected from the local jurisdictions and from all institutions and agencies, intelligently analyzed and utilized as the source from which constructive suggestions can be drawn. The essential importance of records, reports, and statistics, should be constantly kept in mind.

One of the primary functions of a welfare department is the promotion of progressive programs in social work and the establishment of constructive service in communities where there are no social work programs, or where the local program needs strengthening. Moreover it is a sound policy for the state to thrust back on local units responsibility for every kind of service for handicapped children which the local community is able and competent to administer. The state department not only should help to develop these local units but is responsible also for the development of a program for standardizing and coordinating their activities.

Unless the state sets minimum standards below which no so-called child welfare agency is allowed to fall, many children will fail to receive the protection and support to which they have a right. The state alone can do this, and the exercise of supervisory authority is therefore one of its important duties.

The responsibility of the state does not, however, end with promoting social work programs and setting standards of care. Its leadership is needed also in dealing with social

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and economic conditions which cause many of the handicaps from which children suffer. These are problems of the state, and its duty is to devise means of protecting children from the effects of social disorders.

Provision for child welfare in connection with state welfare agencies has had its greatest development in the years since the World War. This development has reached different stages in the forty-eight states. It is increasingly apparent that the success of an organization for social welfare, whether public or private, depends largely on the ability, professional training, and experience of those who carry out its functions. No form of organization can ensure freedom from the influences of a spoils system. An increasing understanding on the part of the public of the professional aspects of the work will result in a demand or continuity of service that has proved valuable, offered leadership, and advanced standards. A strong private association, organized to promote high standards of public service, can exercise influence to prevent partisan interference in state welfare work.

Because of differences in experience it must be acknowledged that no one model state organization can be urged as everywhere most desirable. There is at present a wide interest in the subject of more effective organization of state departments. Under the conditions of present day political organization the continuous board offers greater safeguards than any other form.

These requirements involve important relationships of state departments of welfare to other departments in the state government; to local public and private welfare organizations, to the welfare authorities of the federal government and of other states; to the legislature; and to the general public.

Educational Publicity

A variety of methods may be used in an educational program developing sound social work throughout the State and stimulating agencies to adopt proper standards of work. By conferences of groups of local and state officials and

private social workers, by the publication of bulletins, by short courses of instruction, and by intelligent gathering and interpretation of child welfare statistics, the sources and causes of child distress and practicable remedies may be made known. Through such devices it is possible to develop a public opinion which will support an increasingly adequate budget for widening the services of the department, and a broader leadership in formulating legislative programs.

Standards of child welfare that are set by the state should be as enlightened as the progressive and responsible thinking of the community will endorse. They may be formulated through the group thinking and group action of the representatives of child caring organizations and of others in related fields who are called together by state leaders. Since there must be a comprehensive service to reach all children in need of aid, and since this service must be made quickly available near the source of trouble, it is sound policy for a state to urge this need upon local governments.

Supervision

A state welfare department should have supervision of all child caring organizations within the state, and articles of incorporation of new child caring organizations should be granted only upon its approval.

The purpose of state supervision is to assure the establishment and maintenance of good standards of work, the setting up of progressive programs, and the protection of the interests of children under care.

All child caring work, whether publicly or privately supported, including public officials and county or local boards dealing with children, should be under the supervision of the state. Where juvenile courts act as general child caring units in addition to their judicial functions, the state welfare department should be given authority to establish for them standards of case work on the same level that is required of other child caring organizations.

The methods of state supervision fall into two general classes: licensing, approval or certification; inspection or

visitation. The choice between these methods is relatively unimportant, but it is imperative that the department have sufficient legal powers to make its supervision effective. The leadership and educational duties of the state are, however, more important than the exercise of arbitrary authority. Whatever system is established, it is not sufficient unless it includes an additional program in which the voluntary cooperation of child caring groups is obtained. It must also be safeguarded from possible abuse by allowing for appeal and judicial review of a department's decisions.

There seems to be general agreement as to the necessity of some control of maternity homes and hospitals, because of the delicacy of the problems with which such organizations deal and the danger of commercialization in their work. An increasing number of states require licensing of child placing societies. An interesting, new and sound development is found also in those states which require some method of investigation and approval by the department in adoption cases.

The incorporation of all child caring organizations which assume the custody of children is desirable. The requirement that articles of incorporation be granted only with the approval of the department which will supervise their work should prevent the establishment of unneeded organizations.

Interstate Relations

Every state welfare department should contain a division authorized and equipped to handle all cases of an interstate character, especially those which require agreements with other states in reference to the treatment of children who are to be either returned to or recovered by the state authorities. Greater advances have been made in agreements between states over the care of non-resident mental patients than of other non-resident dependents, since most states have a centralized method of handling the mentally handicapped, but have not developed similar centralization in dealing with other classes of dependents.

These interstate questions of responsibility for support are determined by laws covering settlement which, being part of the poor law or similar statutes, are likely to place emphasis on the protection of the community rather than on the protection of those in need of care. State statutes are sharply at variance with one another and these statutes are often at variance with the interests of the children concerned. This is repeatedly illustrated in cases of migratory families and of children about whose settlements there is disagreement between states. The lack, too, of any "national minimum" of child welfare work, or even of a minimum standard of well-being for all children, makes interstate problems peculiarly difficult of adjustment. The care of migratory families should be the responsibility of the state rather than of the local unit.

No far-reaching improvement can come until a uniform settlement law, similarly administered in the several states, is adopted throughout the country, or some federal assistance in dealing with the problem is made available. Sound case work principles must be the basis for treating cases of children about whose settlement there is dispute. These principles involve careful investigation, adequate treatment according to the needs discovered, and a universal acceptance and utilization of some form of transportation agreement, such as has been applied by a limited number of public and private agencies since 1902. (Transportation Agreement of the Committee on Transportation of Allied National Agencies.)

It is recommended that the voluntary association of public officials, organized on a national basis, should consider the problems involved in these interstate relations and should take action looking towards their solution. (American Association of Public Welfare Officials.)

It is important that state welfare departments recognize that their responsibility for the welfare of non-resident children is as great as it is for children belonging to their own states.

Direct Care

There is now general acceptance of the principle that, in every state there should be lodged in some state department, provision for delinquent children and for mentally handicapped children for whose treatment either the exercise of compulsory power is necessary, or for whose care the equipment and special training required are too costly to be furnished by small governmental units. Most states now have institutions for delinquent children and for mentally deficient children, although nowhere is there yet an adequate, unified program which includes for either of these classes preventive measures, early discovery and treatment, adequate institutional facilities of the training school type, and effective parole.

It is recognized, too, that somewhere within the state's jurisdiction there should be lodged responsibility for providing physically handicapped children—the blind, the deaf and the crippled—with the kind of care and training they need. This may be secured by direct state provision or by local public units, or by cooperation with specialized private organizations. State responsibility has sometimes been lodged in the education department, sometimes in the health department, and sometimes in the welfare department. Wherever it is located, the closest cooperation among state departments is necessary because a physically handicapped child presents social as well as medical and educational problems.

Because of the inadequacy of public poor relief and other local resources for the protection of family life, many states have felt it necessary to accept actual guardianship of destitute and neglected children and have established state institutions or have placed out children in boarding homes, by indenture, or in free homes. With greater emphasis in recent years on home care of dependent children, expressed through public aid to children in their own homes, and the establishment of protective care under local juvenile courts, a decreasing number of children should be separated from their own families in the future.

In many states that have undertaken direct care for children, experience has shown that there is real danger of setting up machinery designated for the permanent or long-term care of children, since local units have proved to be over-ready to free themselves from the cost of care by placing the burden on the state. When the state has received the custody of a child it should make every effort to keep him, while under care, in his own community, and furthermore to return him to his own home as speedily as possible. Whenever a state undertakes to provide direct care for dependent children its standards of work should be, at least, as high as those required of other agencies.

Budgets for Welfare Work

The budgets of state child welfare programs will vary according to the types of work undertaken. The states with direct care programs will need large field staffs and adequate funds to maintain them. Of necessity, child welfare budgets in these states will be larger than in those states with fewer responsibilities. Legislation giving a state welfare department additional duties should be accompanied by sufficient appropriations to make it possible for the department to undertake the new work. A welfare department should have as much of an opportunity to develop its program as have education and health departments, and it should have financial support in proportion to its needs.

Problems of social need are as likely to arise in rural or isolated communities as in the most populous centers. Leadership and funds for social work, either from private philanthropy or from taxation, are seldom found in isolated communities and therefore the community with least wealth is often in the greatest need of social service. Financial aid from the state should be granted as a means of establishing local work for children, according to the standards of care and of qualified personnel it sets for all child caring work. It will then give supplementary state care only to those handicapped children whose needs have been proved to re-

quire treatment either too costly or too specialized to be furnished economically or efficiently on a small scale. This sharing of costs between state and local governments has been found useful in the education and health fields and should be extended more generally to public welfare.

In any case a state should study its expenditures for welfare purposes to make sure that its money is being spent most effectively and that handicapped children are receiving in service the greatest possible returns on the investment of state funds.

LOCAL PUBLIC UNITS FOR CHILD WELFARE

There is general agreement that some governmental unit should be responsible for seeing that handicapped children are given protective care and, when necessary, support. There is no uniformity in the different states, however, as to which political unit shall act or what form the administering public agency shall take, or of what the "care" shall consist.

Children to whom protection is essential may be grouped broadly as dependent, neglected, abandoned or abused, delinquent or wayward, born out of wedlock, physically handicapped, mentally deficient or disturbed. No program is complete that does not include provision for all of these groups.

The same causes seem to lie back of the various social ills from which children suffer. In the large city specializations are necessary, but in rural districts it is most economical and effective for a single agency, and usually a public one, to deal with all phases of family service and child care and protection.

Whatever unit is entrusted with the care of children must be equipped, first of all, with a field service to discover the children who need care and protection, to inquire into their circumstances, and to devise and carry through individualized treatment. Secondly, it must have within itself, or available to it, various types of care, among which must be included provision for family adjustments, with home relief when necessary; protection of, with care and support

for, dependent and neglected children; both medical and mental diagnostic and remedial services, with specialized treatment and custodial care for certain types of children. Thirdly, there must be public funds appropriated to pay the salaries of persons qualified by training and experience to deal with the intricate problems of child care, and also to pay for the support of children who need support, either in their own homes or elsewhere.

The county, which is commonly the unit for juvenile courts, is, in most parts of the country, the most practicable unit for the general administration of child care. The majority of problems of handicapped children require study and treatment by an agency which is near by. Only by close at hand service may we expect an early discovery of the case, home treatment whenever possible, and the development of preventive measures. The state is too far removed to assume case work responsibilities within the counties, or to influence directly local conditions which are creating dependency and delinquency, or are contributing to physical or mental disorders.

On the other hand, expertness in the field of social service, as in medicine and in any other field, is usually developed only by practice on a sufficiently large scale to permit an observation of comparative results. The township is too small a unit for social service administration, both because the number of cases to be dealt with is comparatively few, and also because the basis of taxation is too limited to meet the necessary costs of the service.

Types

Whether a county unit should be a unit of child welfare only, or should cover a broader public welfare field is a question which may need further experimentation. On the whole it seems desirable for one administrative unit to undertake all duties within its area which call for social service.

Several methods have been used for carrying out one or more of the various types of service to children such as, an

elected public official or board of elected officials, or a juvenile court with administrative powers. Since, as a general plan, the service provided in these ways has proved inadequate there has developed a movement towards establishing unpaid boards of citizens. These boards may have merely advisory duties or full administrative authority.

The most promising form of organization for child care and protection is a county welfare board with administrative authority. The board should be large enough to insure group judgment, but small enough to be a manageable unit, probably with a membership of five or seven. The members should serve without salary and should be appointed for overlapping terms.

To this board should be entrusted the direct administration of an inclusive program of child care, with authority to expend the public funds appropriated for that purpose. It should appoint an executive and staff, whose qualifications should be fixed by the state department of welfare. It should be made responsible for discovering circumstances of all children thought to be in need, and for determining and securing the form of oversight, support or protection best suited to their individual difficulties.

There is at present a widespread disposition, which is to be deplored, to provide in a local unit only one paid social case worker who is expected to undertake not only a wide variety of case work services to adults as well as to children, but also to develop various forms of community programs. County services of different types, such, for instance, as recreational programs, or correctional work, may be centered in the same administrative unit, but not unless additional staff with qualifications for the particular additional service is also provided.

In the various states, county board members are appointed by a governor, by a state commissioner of welfare, by a county judge, or by county boards of commissioners or supervisors. If the duties of the county board are mainly those for which the county is the responsible unit, then the appointment should be made by some county authority. If,

however, a county board is created principally to assist the state in performing its functions within the county, possibly some state authority may well make the appointment.

However the appointment is made, the welfare of handicapped children will not be handled in a way to insure their individual well-being and at the same time the protection of the community, until the administration of child care, no less than that of the public schools, is removed from the uncertainties of shifting political influence.

Personnel

The success of local programs for child care will depend almost wholly on the personal and professional qualifications of the staff. Certain personal traits are essential, as is also a natural aptitude for social service. However, such qualifications without actual training in modern methods of child care or experience in an agency in which such methods prevail, give but limited returns in the social betterment of the community. The initial investigation, diagnosis of the difficulty, prescribing and supervising treatment, should be recognized as requiring the special skill which distinguishes social case work.

A demand for the employment exclusively of residents of the state or of the county seriously limits the quality of service in many localities. Counties should be as ready to employ a non-resident social engineer to build programs for the protection of children as to employ a non-resident civil engineer to build bridges and roads.

Welfare, Health and Education

No program for the care of handicapped children can ignore education and health. Every county or locality should have a board of welfare, a board of health, and a board of education, the three serving the same political unit. The three should be so related and their work so integrated that the full service of each will be available for all handicapped children. No one service should undertake work falling in

the province of the others except in general as a temporary expedient.

The combination of school attendance duties with those of social welfare in certain states has attracted wide attention and is not incompatible with good practice. In its larger aspects school attendance is a social problem. Getting the child back in school is not so important as eliminating the cause of his absence, and the discovery and analysis of the situation leading to the absence presents the most promising point for preventive social treatment.

A clear distinction between city and rural territory is necessary when considering the possibility of combining public welfare and school attendance work. Such a combination in cities has not been suggested, but in the more rural areas it is improbable that two separate services with equal standards can be developed. Therefore, in such territory it is important to consider whether or not, under the local conditions, the best results will be obtained through the organization of one service which will cover both fields.

Training for public health nursing and training for social service are so dissimilar that it is not reasonable to consider an amalgamation of the two. The specialized trainings for professional service in these two fields are so totally unlike that the combined responsibility can be successfully carried only by persons having first the qualifications and the full training which each field requires. Both nursing and social service are needed in every local area, and whichever service first enters the field should make it a part of its daily program to educate the community to the need of the other service. Nursing service and social service are complements of each other and in no sense rivals in dealing with the ills of humanity.

State and County Responsibility

The county unit should be provided with a suitable field staff and with facilities for case work treatment of all types for handicapped children, unless such children require the

long-time or specialized care which the county is not equipped to furnish.

Administratively, responsibility should rest with the county for all services to any child until, after substantial case work treatment, such child, for good cause, has been permanently removed from his family, or until a determination has been made that for given reasons he requires the specialized care that only the state can provide.

The local unit, except perhaps in large cities, cannot equip itself to administer or to support certain types of care, such as schools for delinquents, institutions for the mentally deficient, clinics for diagnosis of orthopedic difficulties, mental deficiency or disturbance, and certain other special difficulties. Most localities have but a few children needing these types of treatment, which require specialized equipment and direction which ordinarily can be organized only for a relatively large group of children. The locality, therefore, must look to the state to furnish such service. Diagnostic service, when possible, however, should be brought to the locality instead of taking the children to a centralized state service.

The organization of one agency within a locality to serve both the county and the state in all matters requiring social service, such as parole investigations and supervision and issuing work certificates, seems not only possible but desirable.

Need, Not Cost, to Determine Treatment

Regardless of the type of units now existing or to be adopted, the treatment accorded each child must be determined solely by his needs, and not by reason of what tax unit can be made to pay for the cost of his care. Children are now frequently torn from their families permanently and sent to an institution supported by the state, although home adjustments and relief at local expense might meet the needs; or they are taken into court and declared delinquent so that a county will pay the cost, instead of their being cared for as dependents at town expense. These practices are common and for them there is no excuse.

Transfer of Administrative Duties from Juvenile Courts

In many states the juvenile court has been entrusted with administrative as well as judicial duties, such, for instance, as determining dependency and granting mothers' aid. Such functions belong under the executive rather than the judicial branch of government. Questions of support do not require judicial consideration and the atmosphere of even our most socialized courts is not entirely devoid of association with legal compulsion and wrong doing. The court by very reason of its judicial character is apt to hear of cases only after an extreme situation has already developed, so that the most promising period for preventive work has already passed at the moment the court first hears of it. When local administrative units of child care are organized, non-judicial duties should as speedily as possible be transferred thereto from the juvenile courts. Relieved of these functions, the courts would be able to deal more intensively and most effectively with delinquent children, and with children who need legal protection. The local administrative unit and the juvenile court are coordinate governmental units, which should work in close harmony.

Equalization of Costs

The vast difference in the wealth of counties, and the likelihood that the poorest localities will require relatively more service and more money for support, makes it imperative that some plan of equalization be adopted so that state and national funds may help meet the costs of county child welfare programs, as they now contribute to the cost of schools.

PRIVATE SERVICE AND CHILD WELFARE

The most important development in the field of private child welfare activities today is the interest in community organization and in coordination of effort in behalf of all handicapped children. Group thinking and joint planning, based on the results of research concerning community needs,

lead to concerted action for rousing public opinion to correct antisocial conditions, for improving standards of work, for securing more adequate funds for both public and private child welfare organizations, and for proper allocation of services.

Community Programs

The new instrumentality in the community organization movement is the council of social agencies. Councils usually provide for the participation of all types of social work organizations and most of them have special divisions of child welfare. The advantages of this form of community cooperation are unlimited, but as yet the field has barely been touched. Joint financing of private social agencies through community chests is, as yet, much more common than community engineering provided for through councils. Where these exist, usually in the larger cities, they rarely extend their activities to other than urban areas.

There is likely to be a multiplicity of agencies in populous districts and more private wealth is likely to be available there for investment in social service. Community planning therefore in such districts becomes a measure almost of self-defense.

The need for group thinking and action in behalf of handicapped children is, however, by no means confined to cities. County and other rural districts are often without the funds or the leadership to deal with their child welfare problems. Instead of having too many duplicating organizations they are likely to be without much necessary service for children in need of care. A progressive state welfare department with educational leadership can influence these situations. Stimulated and supervised by the state, local public welfare units may be organized and these in turn, when properly staffed and equipped, should be the agents to take the lead in promoting a coordinated plan to meet all the needs of handicapped children within their jurisdiction.

The private agency, too, has a distinct obligation to recognize the need of an extension of community action and

should look to its state welfare department for assistance in planning for a wider community program. Just as the state welfare department has supervisory duties towards private child caring organizations, so the latter have a responsibility for stimulating the state department to take a broader conception of its opportunities and to give the leadership which can come only from the state.

Group thinking is needed on a state-wide basis as well as for local community organization. State programs of child welfare will involve legislation that affects all communities. State welfare departments and state-wide children's organizations must recognize their obligations to promote coordinated programs based on careful study of state-wide needs.

National Agencies in a Community Plan

There are a large number of national private social work agencies organized for the promotion of some form of child welfare work. These agencies do not usually deal with the problems of individual handicapped children, but they do affect community and agency programs for them. When a national agency enters the field it has important functions: to stimulate local interest in and understanding of certain needs of child welfare; to suggest the best methods of meeting the needs; and to standardize the service that local agencies are organized to give.

In carrying out these functions national agencies have a close relationship to a community plan of child care, and a direct responsibility for contributing to a well balanced program in which local organizations should be encouraged to take part. They also have an obligation to recognize the leadership of state welfare departments in child welfare work throughout the state and the necessity of fitting their own programs to the state-wide planning that may have been undertaken. The national agency not only has an opportunity to arouse interest among local groups in certain child welfare needs, but has also a duty to stimulate state leadership in recognizing problems that have perhaps been overlooked.

Problems of Local Private Agencies

The development of private service does not depend so much upon the multiplication of new agencies as the expansion and enrichment of the program of agencies that may already be in existence in the area. An organization for child welfare that has been in existence many years has generally gained a standing in the community and a stability of program and support that are important assets. It is, however, in danger of being out of touch with modern developments in the field of child care. It is therefore of great importance that those interested in the development of the program should seek to stimulate the old to better service rather than to side-track it in favor of the new.

Hitherto the emphasis of private child welfare organizations has been largely on the care of dependent and neglected children away from their own homes. They have often been more concerned with the offering of substitutes for home life than with organizing means to preserve it. There are, therefore, many more institutions and agencies for the care of children apart from their families than associations concerned with treating family problems as a whole, but good family welfare work is the foundation of good child welfare work.

It is a hopeful sign that institutions and foster home societies now give greater emphasis to the provision of care for children away from their homes only when they have been proved definitely in need of it. Coupled with this is found a greater interest in returning the child to his own family as soon as it may be done wisely. A number of institutions and agencies which formerly concentrated on caring for children permanently separated from their own homes have now reorganized and broadened their services. Child placing societies, which at one time placed children only in free homes for long-time care, sometimes have added protective programs and seek to provide for each handicapped child the particular treatment he requires; and institutions

are now often aiding children in their own families or boarding them in foster homes.

Whatever new developments are undertaken they should be based on the individual interests of the children to be served, on the standards of work and personnel satisfactory to the state, and in accordance with the community program of child welfare.

Relationship of Private and Public Agencies

The problem of the relationship between public and private service has been worked out differently in almost every state in the Union but seems, fundamentally, to rest on the premise that the private agency shall have the fullest opportunity of development consistent with the establishment and maintenance of good standards of work. Generally the private agency has been in the field first. It has given stimulus to the development of public service; it has gathered unto itself a group of devoted men and women who, besides rendering care to the needy children of the community, know the fundamental difficulties and the opportunities that lie in the field of child care.

If public service is to be effective it must count on the participation and stimulation of citizens without which it is in danger of becoming bureaucratic and backward. But private service that is friendly to the development of good public care may provide, through fearless but tactful criticism, that corrective which keeps public service attentive to its own tasks. The private agency can point the way to service to the few; the public must be in position to apply those principles to the many.

The state is the ultimate expression of the community will and power, and must therefore see to it that the rights and duties of citizens are both protected and enforced. This raises the question of reasonable division of responsibility and service between public and private agencies. Private resources have never been adequate to solve our social welfare problem, and only the state can exercise the police power necessary to achieve social welfare objectives, particularly for

delinquent and neglected children. But it is important to keep clearly in mind that citizens have an inherent right, both individually and through associations, to undertake any form of social welfare work which is not detrimental to the interests of the state. Public authorities should undertake only those responsibilities which cannot be satisfactorily fulfilled by citizens themselves, through their own private efforts. The state must always retain the right to supervise the activities of the citizens and must stand ready to supplement their efforts.

If the states were to assume exclusive responsibility for any form of social work, social work would lose the personal service of a large number of its citizens, now freely given, and would cut itself off from large financial resources, which are now available to private social agencies, but which would rapidly dry up if all social work were placed exclusively under public authority.

Financial Relationships

The financial relationship between the public and private agency is a perplexing one. There are few parts of the country where appropriations from tax funds to private organizations are not made in one form or another. There are no accurate figures available to show the total amount thus appropriated or its relative proportion to the expenditures from private funds. It is, however, known to be very large and to support a great number of children.

GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS ¹

1. There is needed, throughout the United States and all its possessions, a comprehensive service to provide in every community for handicapped children according to their individual needs for as long a period as those needs last.

¹ Recommendations of the Committee on National, State and Local Organization for the Handicapped as a whole, based on the findings and reports of its subcommittees.

2. There should be in every state, territory, and possession of the United States a welfare department with special responsibilities for children; the various services necessary for the care and protection of handicapped children should be well coordinated and available in every jurisdiction.

3. Welfare departments should be responsible for the establishment and maintenance of adequate standards of care in all child caring agencies, both public and private, and for promoting programs of social work.

4. There should be in every state a system of public administrative units, usually organized on a county basis, to render such services to children as are best performed by local units.

5. The facilities of the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor are needed to collect and supply information, to offer assistance in the form of investigation and consultation, and to conduct research in fields in which there are as yet unsettled problems. The activities of the bureau in the field of maternal and child hygiene are of the greatest social importance and should be continued as an integral part of its program.

6. Both federal and state grants-in-aid, accepted in the fields of education and health, should be extended to the field of public welfare in order to make possible the development of effective local units of service.

7. Child welfare organizations should be primarily interested in the protection and preservation of family life rather than in offering substitutes for it.

8. Child welfare organizations, public and private, should participate in promoting a unified plan of service to children since all social effort is one in purpose; each organization should have a flexible program to permit growth and adaptation to changing social needs.

9. Programs of child welfare can be made effective only if the personnel is sufficient in number and properly qualified.

TRENDS IN THE CARE OF HANDICAPPED
CHILDREN

TRENDS IN THE CARE OF HANDICAPPED CHILDREN

THERE are many organized efforts in the United States to serve children suffering from social, physical, or mental handicaps. This account of the various types of agencies both public and private, caring for handicapped children, and the trends in the relation of private to public care has been developed from reports of surveys, special studies by organizations, and covers the practices of public and private agencies. The outstanding problems of private agencies, their relations to public agencies and the methods that have been developed for meeting them are stressed.

A public child welfare agency is an agency established by statute and managed by a governmental body, providing any form of service for dependent, neglected, delinquent, or physically or mentally handicapped children. All other agencies may be considered as private.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

In general, the early settlers of America organized in the colonies and early states the same types of care that were already in use or in process of development in England, namely: the care of children in the mixed almshouse along with destitute, sick, defective, and otherwise handicapped adults; outdoor relief in families; farming out to private persons, indenture of dependent children; the custody and punishment of juvenile delinquents along with adults in criminal courts, jails and prisons. The long succession of organized efforts to segregate different types of handi-

Note: Report of the Committee on Private Agencies, Their Relationship to Public Agencies and Their Trends. Wilfred S. Reynolds, Chairman.

capped children for better care must be seen against this background of undifferentiated public care of children in the United States. Attenuated survivals of almost every phase of these primitive methods still persist in many of our states.

The initiative toward properly segregated care has usually been taken by private persons and agencies; but the limitations inherent in such efforts, both of finance and of administrative authority, have tended constantly toward a greater and greater public expenditure of money and of service in behalf of each special group of handicapped children. The limit of such demands upon public and service does not yet appear to be in sight.

Although dates of origins can rarely be stated with accuracy, the dates from which development of organized special care for each group of handicapped children has been continuous may be roughly given as follows:

	Earliest organized care
Dependent children	
Institutional care	1729
Free foster home care	1853
Boarding foster home care	1870
Day nurseries	1858
Widows' pensions or mothers' allowances ...	1911
Delinquents	
Special institutions	1825
Juvenile courts	1900
Mental hygiene clinics	1909
Children with special handicaps	
Deaf	1817
Blind	1832
Mentally deficient	1850
Crippled	1863
Epileptic	1890

The Dependent

Following the first institution under private care in New Orleans in 1729, the numbers of institutions founded in each twenty-five year period, so far as these institutions have survived and were listed in the last three United States Census reports relating to dependent and neglected children, are: before 1800, 11 (2 of which were public); 1800 to 1824, 17, all private; 1825 to 1849, 94 (only 1 public); 1850 to 1874, 306 (19 public); 1875 to 1899, 695 (98 public); 1900 to 1923, 602 (28 public).

These few figures suggest that, even before the period of the nation-wide revolt (from 1875 on) against keeping children in the mixed almshouse, the movement to segregate children in institutions of their own had got a good start in the founding of 428 institutions for dependent and neglected children, only 22 of which were public. The movement for foster family care of children without indenture, beginning in 1853, was also well under way before 1875. On February 1, 1923, the number of such child-placing agencies reporting was given as 313, of which 82 were under public auspices: 12 state, 62 county, and 8 city. The Bureau of the Census¹ estimated the numbers of dependent and neglected children cared for away from home on February 1, 1923, as 12,000 in public institutions, 120,000 in private institutions, 31,000 in foster family homes under public care, and 38,000 in foster family homes under private auspices. The government publication, *Paupers in Almshouses*,² reports that on January 1, 1923, there were in the public almshouses in the various states: 822 children under five years of age, 538 from five to nine years, and 516 from ten to fourteen years. There is much variation among different states in the extent to which public or private agencies provide care for children. In a number of states no public institu-

¹ *Children Under Institutional Care*, 1923. U. S. Census Bureau, Washington, D. C., Govt. Print. Off., 1927.

² *Paupers in Almshouses*, 1923. U. S. Census Bureau, Washington, D. C., Govt. Print. Off., 1924.

tions or agencies existed in 1923, whereas in a few states more than half of the children reported were under care of public agencies.

The foregoing figures indicate that the total number of dependent and neglected children cared for away from home in institutions and foster family homes under private auspices was, seven years ago, much larger than the total of those directly cared for in like ways under public auspices. It should also be made clear that the total share of the financial burden carried by the public out of taxes must also include those supplementary sums that some states, and likewise counties, cities, and occasionally towns, pay in lump or as per capita subsidies to private institutions and agencies for private custody and care of dependent and neglected children.

In addition to the expense of these public subsidies to private institutions and agencies and such direct care of dependent children in institutions and foster family homes as has been developed, is the aid given to mothers at public expense for the care of children in their own homes. The number of such children, on the same date as has been used for the institutional and foster home care of children, was estimated by the federal Children's Bureau to be 121,000. This number has greatly increased since 1923 and is now estimated to be over 200,000. Undoubtedly the development of public care for children in their own homes has made the building of additional public institutions unnecessary.

Finally, in addition to expense for direct care of children in institutions, foster family homes, and at home with their own mothers, and, in addition to public subsidies of all kinds to private institutions and agencies, must be included public expenses for the increasing numbers of regulative and supervisory children's bureaus or divisions within the various state departments of public welfare and similar county and city boards. Though exact data are lacking, the ratio of total public expenditure of money and effort to the total private expenditure, for the specialized care of dependent and neglected children, both at home and away from home, would seem to be growing larger. We cannot here consider trends

of public family relief except as they bear directly on the care of children. Yet the current widespread unemployment and agitation for extending industrial and social insurance indicates that even further public assistance to dependent children and their families will be necessary.

The Neglected

Neglected children, as distinguished from dependent children, are those endangered by or suffering from physical or mental cruelties and abuses due to the culpable neglect of parents.

For the protection of neglected children, a specialized service, known as child protective service, came into existence during the decade of 1870 to 1880. Child protective work was first done by private agencies which were organized in eastern states and spread widely over the country. One of the earlier features of protective service was the use of the law and the courts for the punishment of those offending against the welfare of children. In recent years, with the growth of the juvenile court system and the recognition that child protection is a public duty, much of this service has been assumed by juvenile courts and by other public agencies concerned with the welfare of children, particularly state or county boards of public or child welfare.

Protective work for children in the early days was largely done by societies for the prevention of cruelty to children, and amounted to a rescue of children suffering from physical abuse, many of these societies were called *humane societies* and included in their activities protective or humane work for animals. Child protective work has been constantly diminishing in most of their programs. There are now four or five hundred humane societies in the United States; few of them are actively dealing with problems of child welfare, and preventive programs for child care are practically absent from their activities.

There are a certain number of societies for the prevention of cruelty to children whose chief interest is actually in

children's work, and these have shown some tendency to combine with children's aid societies in a more expansive program. There are also, at present, numerous juvenile or children's protective associations with diversified functions, but all doing some child protective work. Many of these associations confine their efforts almost exclusively to the improvement of bad community conditions.

It is now generally recognized that legal protection of children is fundamentally a governmental responsibility and, as county boards of child welfare develop, the protection of children should be included as one of their duties. Juvenile courts are now to be found in most states, but both the private society and the public welfare board dealing with children have important functions to perform in correlation with the juvenile court. These agencies should be principally concerned with the preventive aspects of child neglect, turning over to the juvenile court only such cases as absolutely require the use of its authority. In the earlier stages of child neglect, there is greater likelihood of wholesome response through the preventive work of a social case-working agency, than through recourse to court action before it is needed.¹

The Delinquent

The treatment of juvenile delinquency is very generally recognized as the responsibility of the public agency. This is shown by the 1923 census² in that, of the total number of 27,238 juvenile delinquents present in institutions, only 4,420, or 16 per cent were cared for in private institutions; and of 143 institutions listed as caring for juvenile delinquents in the United States, only 22 were under private auspices.

An outstanding recognition of public responsibility in the

¹ Report of the Committee on Dependency and Neglect, Subcommittee on Neglected Children, IV C-1, White House Conference on Child Health and Protection.

² *Children Under Institutional Care*, 1923. U. S. Census Bureau, Washington, D. C., Govt. Print. Off., 1927.

treatment of juvenile delinquency has been the development of the juvenile court system, with the increasing demand that it use good case work methods and more scientific processes in studying the causes which underlie delinquent behavior. The court makes extensive use of private agencies, such as big brother and big sister associations and juvenile protective associations, in providing treatment of the social and economic conditions affecting children of delinquent tendencies.

Within the last fifteen years, and especially within the last five years, some school systems have inaugurated a visiting teacher service to problem children. A visiting teacher should be provided for all children in the schools, from the moment they are discovered to have behavior problems, in order to prevent their becoming juvenile delinquents.

Another type of service to delinquent children that is being developed is the child guidance or child study clinic. Such clinics may be associated with the schools or with the court, or they may be provided by a state department interested in mental hygiene. Private initiative has done much toward demonstrating the value of the services of visiting teachers and child guidance clinics.

The Physically Handicapped

The chief groups of physically handicapped children for whom specialized care and education have been developed, are, in the order of the beginning of segregated care: the deaf (1817); the blind (1832); the crippled (1863).

The Deaf. The earliest schools for the deaf, the first of which was at Hartford, Connecticut, were under private auspices. Soon, however, the states began to bear a part or the whole of the expense of the education of pupils in these schools and now, in all states but Delaware, New Hampshire, Nevada, and Wyoming, there are semi-public or public institutions for the education of deaf children.

Beside these residential institutions in the different states, which are largely supported by public funds and open to

deaf children who are not dependent as well as to the dependent, the Office of Education of the Department of the Interior reported that in October, 1929, in addition to the students in Gallaudet College for the higher education of the deaf, established by the national government at Washington, there were 13,239 deaf pupils in 64 institutions, 3,503 in 114 day schools, and 812 in 18 private schools.

Public school classes for the hard of hearing are being started. This class of children have hitherto received very little attention. Their impairment of hearing may be so slight as to go unrecognized and sometimes subject them to grave injustice.

Reliable tests show that there are no less than three million children in the United States whose hearing is somewhat below normal. As most of these children are or will become pupils in the public schools, the public should be interested in providing instruction in lip reading as well as in furnishing medical attention. The private agencies might do well to bring the needs of this group of children to the attention of school authorities.

It is evident that the tendency is definitely toward the public assumption of a large share of the responsibility for the education of deaf children, even when this involves the expense of residential schools for dependent deaf children.

The Blind. The development of segregated care and education of the blind has been quite similar to that for the deaf, although beginning a decade and a half later. The first residential schools were begun under private auspices but soon received state support and continue so to do. Beginning in 1837 in Ohio, states began to establish schools under public auspices. Every state now either has a residential school of its own or pays for the education of its blind in some residential school. Twenty cities have followed the lead of Chicago in 1900, in establishing public school classes for blind children.

In 1929, 57 residential schools had about 5,500 pupils and 18 cities enrolled about 425 pupils in their public

school day classes. The public is bearing the major social expense in the care and education of these children as it does for the deaf.

The Crippled. It was estimated by the International Society for Crippled Children in 1927 that there were about 350,000 crippled children under sixteen years of age in the United States. Various types of institutional provision for crippled children apart from adults have developed largely under private auspices and in connection with hospitals, beginning with the Hospital for Ruptured and Crippled in New York in 1863. Eight states, beginning with Minnesota in 1897, have established special hospitals for the care of crippled children. University hospitals in nine states care for orthopedic cases paid for by state or local funds. In many other states public funds (state or local) are also given to hospitals under private auspices for the care of crippled children. Beginning in Chicago in 1899, public school day classes for crippled children have been conducted as they have for the deaf and blind. The public usually pays for transportation of pupils to these schools in motor buses and also provides special classroom facilities and therapeutic treatment. Eighty-six cities and towns in 1929 reported over 10,000 crippled children in these public school day classes.

There are also a great number of private clubs, orders, leagues and associations, and the International Society for Crippled Children (founded in 1921), which are severally interested in some form of care, cure, or prevention. Popular interest in the care of the crippled child has developed greatly in recent years and has resulted in the establishment of hospitals and clinics and in stimulating public responsibility. A program of adequate legislation relying on both private and public support is being built up to guarantee the discovery and appropriate care, treatment, and education of every crippled child. In this program the public is expected to pay all bills that parents and various private agencies do not pay.

The Mentally Handicapped

The care and treatment of mentally deficient children has been looked upon as primarily a responsibility of the government. The system of public institutions or schools for feeble-minded children is now widespread in almost every state. There are also a number of private training schools for the mentally deficient but these do not provide for the dependent group. Special classes in the public schools are also growing in number and efficiency in the direction of individualized vocational education and consequent prevention of dependency and delinquency among the mentally deficient.

In addition to the great number of mentally deficient children there is a large group with no definite intellectual deviation, who, nevertheless, because of some behavior or personality disturbance, are unable to adapt themselves to their environment. Reliable studies indicate that not less than 5 per cent of our school children have behavior problems sufficiently marked to warrant psychiatric consideration. The importance of treating this group of children has been realized only recently and the facilities for so doing are as yet entirely inadequate.

Diagnosis of the specific individual difficulty is the first need of both socially and mentally maladjusted children. Clinical facilities for diagnosis including child guidance clinics, habit clinics for preschool children, and mental clinics for parents have been made available to courts, social agencies, and school systems. Proper diagnosis indicates what treatment is necessary for the correction of the problems presented and the promotion of mental health. Work in this field should be organized under public auspices, but until the idea of specific treatment is better accepted, it will be necessary to continue to rely on private funds.

The contribution of private initiative has been made so far largely in the field of research and experimentation in the understanding and treatment of types of behavior which suggest mental maladjustment. The emphasis has been on

the adjustment of children with behavior problems before serious results from wrong mental habits and tendencies ensue.

Epileptics are another class of handicapped children needing special care. Ohio was the first state to authorize, in 1890, a colony for epileptics similar to one in Bielefeld, Germany. New York followed in 1893. Separate public care for the epileptic has not been provided in every state, and private institutions frequently have been established to meet the need. On January 1, 1930, the National Committee on Mental Hygiene reported that 6 per cent of the total number of epileptics in the United States were in private institutions. In 1923 the United States Census of institutions showed that of the mentally deficient and epileptic under care only 7.3 per cent were private patients; of 17 special institutions for epileptics 10 were state and 7 were private.

The responsibility of the public in the care of all these groups of children with special handicaps has been shown to be greater than merely bearing part of the burden of care of individual children in residential schools. All the separate public and private efforts in behalf of each one of these groups should be so coordinated through a combination of health education, social welfare, and the legislative and administrative functions of the state and local units, that each handicapped child may be identified early, his individual needs discovered, and appropriate care and education guaranteed him.

PRESENT ORGANIZATION

The Need for Social Planning

The majority of facilities existing for the care and treatment of handicapped children have grown up in a haphazard fashion. The appeal of the needy child himself has been so strong that those who have wished to help him have often provided facilities that dealt with his immediate problem and not with the causes of the problem or with other contributing factors.

Thus the mentally or physically handicapped child frequently has been considered as a custodial or medical problem with no reference to his need for constructive training or social adjustment. The delinquent child has been set down as a case for reformation with no attempt to find the causes of his antisocial behavior. The dependent and neglected child has appealed to philanthropists as an individual to be rescued from unsuitable environment; due consideration has not been given the family factors involved in his problem or the possibility of influencing his environment for the better. The fundamental necessity is recognition of the fact that the handicapped child is a part of larger situations, of a family where illness, poverty, mental deficiency, neglect or delinquency may prevail, and of a community where economic or social inequality may be in evidence.

Thus the emphasis of private child welfare organizations has been largely on the care of children away from their own homes. As a result, many child placing societies and a great variety of children's institutions have been established for the care of children separated from their families. New institutions are still being established often despite the fact that the newer methods indicate some better means of supplying care to these children.

Fraternal orders and church groups have felt themselves responsible for the orphaned children of their constituents, and have usually provided institutional or, more rarely, foster home care for a limited age group or sex, which arrangements often necessitate the separation of brothers and sisters. Large endowments, too, have been created for the benefit of special groups, or the children of certain geographical areas. These and other community child welfare activities frequently have resulted in a duplication of certain types of service and the neglect of others just as important.

While private philanthropy has generously supported social work activities, in many areas, especially in populous sections where private wealth has accumulated, there are other areas badly in need of social organization in behalf of handi-

capped children where it is woefully lacking. Care must be taken not to repeat in these places the mistakes of older communities in establishing outworn systems of care or in duplicating some types of service to the exclusion of others.

In order that a community may develop an all-inclusive modern child caring program it is often necessary in highly organized sections, to reorganize existing facilities. Such a reorganization, of course, should not be undertaken blindly. It should be developed only after a careful study of the field, the resources available, and the needs that must be met.

The development of the field of private service does not depend so much upon the multiplication of new agencies as upon the expansion and enrichment of the programs of agencies already in existence in the area. An organization for child welfare that has been in existence many years has generally gained a standing in the community and a stable program and support that are important assets. It is, however, in danger of being out of touch with modern developments in the fields of child care. Therefore it is of great importance that those interested in the development of the program should seek to stimulate the old to better service rather than abandon it in favor of the new.

The group that assumes leadership in planning a community's work for children should be conversant with the history of past developments in child welfare work and should prevent the community from repeating the errors of the past. This group should bear in mind that over and above all other considerations is the desirability of arranging that children remain in their own homes and of utilizing ordinary community facilities to strengthen and improve the environment.

*Organization in Selected Localities*¹

Community A. In one community surveyed there were found to be 13 institutions for dependent children, all of which provided for children of the same general ages. Nine of these institutions required that the children be perma-

¹ From records of surveys made by the Child Welfare League of America.

nently separated from their families before they would be accepted for care, and 8 of these 9 concentrated on giving long-time care. In addition to these 13 children's homes, there were 2 maternity homes and 3 day nurseries; none had case work service. A private state-wide society, a religious organization, and the state department of social welfare were all doing some foster home placement, utilizing only free homes. There was no coordination of child welfare programs. Satisfactory protective work, a case working agency to study children and develop methods of care adapted to their needs, provision for boarding home care, and appropriations for public aid to children in their own homes were all lacking. The probation service in the juvenile court was entirely inadequate.

As a result of the survey 2 children's institutions closed and another institution became the receiving home of a new children's case working agency. This agency, which was established as a result of the survey, now furnishes case work service to those children's institutions in the community fund and to certain others. It has also established boarding home service and provides field work for some of the students of the local school of social work. A plan for developing protective work for girls is now under way, to which end the survey recommended a change in activity for one institution. While the agency handles a number of cases of unmarried mothers, it does not attempt to handle all the cases of this type in the community. It is evident even from this brief review that there is much better coordination of children's work than has ever existed before and that the community has learned to view these activities as part of a unified social effort.

Community B. In another community in which a study was made in 1927, were found 34 institutions and agencies caring for 3,824 children away from their own homes, while public aid to children in their own homes reached only 310. Eighty-five per cent of the children that were cared for in institutions or foster homes had been placed there without the advantage of social case work. The result was that the

institutions, many of which were overcrowded, had not made a discriminating use of their available capacity. Children who might have been better cared for in other ways were occupying beds in the institutions to the exclusion of children much more in need of such care. There was no adequate protective work and public relief was seriously limited.

Fifty-five per cent of the children who were found in training schools for delinquents, or who were on probation in the juvenile courts, came from broken homes, showing the lack in the community of any program for the prevention of delinquency through measures that would protect the family. As the report of this survey stated:

Aid to dependent families in their own homes is not only a means of decreasing institutional and foster home care, but is an effective measure in controlling delinquency. Lack of work on the child's home and on his environment means that, if he is returned to his home after a period of care away from home, nothing fundamental will have been accomplished to improve his condition. It is now generally assumed that social service that deals with individuals must make systematic inquiry into their social, medical and psychological needs and conditions, and also must study the environment in which they live.

Three years after the survey was made, this community reports that the results are very gratifying. Members of certain boards of managers were slow in overcoming their original resentment of criticisms made, but now every one is earnestly trying to follow the recommendations as far as possible.

There are two outstanding results to be noted. One is the addition of competent social workers to the staffs of 5 children's institutions which never before had had case workers on their staffs, and to the staff of one maternity home. The second has been the assistance the survey gave in getting more adequate appropriations for the child caring work done by the public agency. The findings of the survey were used in two campaigns and citizens succeeded both in getting a larger appropriation and in stressing the need for service and support of children by the public agency.

The influence of this community survey is still at work. Day nurseries which have not as yet fully adopted the recommendations made three years ago are still working on their problems and expect before the present year is up to develop a constructive plan. The closing of one institution, immediately following the survey, with the return of many children to their own homes, and the placement of children, in special cases, in boarding homes, demonstrated the value of careful case work. Other institutions have become interested in the possibility of changing their policies and enlarging the scope of their work to serve children by other means than institutional care alone. Indirectly beneficial results which cannot be definitely stated are noticed by those working in the community before and after the survey.

Community C. In some localities organizations have changed their functions and developed new activities, not as a result of a general community survey, but because of a study of their own programs in the light of new needs and the developments of their community.

The experience of one institution on the eve of its one hundredth birthday may serve as an example. Six other institutions had been organized in the same community, their activities largely paralleling its work. The elder institution began to feel the necessity for the integration of case work methods with institutional or foster home care of children. In the decades since the home had been established, a change in viewpoint had taken place; an institution was no longer considered the best place in which to care for children from infancy to adolescence.

The trustees of the orphan asylum therefore decided that the time had come to change its functions at the same time capitalizing on its long history and the confidence in which it was held by the general public. A study of their own needs and possibilities was dovetailed with a community study of facilities for the care of convalescent children; as a result of these two surveys it was decided to turn the orphan asylum into a home for convalescent children, giving highly specialized medical care.

*Bequests*¹

Child caring activities developed under endowments are apt to become obsolescent in administration. Needs for which trust funds are created change with the passing of time and the present status of a number of endowed institutions which were established in a bygone generation indicate the need for more flexible programs in the making of wills. The necessity for raising at least a part of the enterprise's support from year to year can act as a corrective for this tendency. If the board of directors will constantly seek to meet new needs, they may be able to conserve what has been valuable in the past and apply it to the needs of the present.

It is, however, possible to reorganize trust funds so that they may better meet modern social needs, and this possibility has received much consideration of late. The John Edgar Thomson Foundation of Philadelphia, created by the third president of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, who died in 1874, is an illustration of what may be done to reorganize a work that is no longer necessary for the special purposes indicated by the founder.

Mr. Thomson left his estate in trust, the trustees having wide powers, for the education and maintenance of the daughters of railroad men killed in the discharge of their duties. Later, with the approval of the orphans' court, the privileges of the foundation were extended to the daughters of men who died in the service of a railroad company.

In its earlier days the trust funds were used only for institutional care but, with the passing of time and an appreciation of new developments in welfare work, the character of the work was changed and broadened to include extension service to girls in their own homes. Only 24 girls are now housed and educated in the resident department in Philadelphia, and these are girls who for one reason or

¹ For further discussion of liberalization of bequests see Report of the Committee on Dependency and Neglect, IV C-1, White House Conference on Child Health and Protection.

another cannot be provided for in their own homes or in the homes of relatives, or who do not have proper opportunity for vocational training in their home towns.

On the other hand, 156 girls are being maintained and educated in the homes of their mothers or guardians. Through the extension department the foundation provides maintenance which includes allowances for semi-annual medical and dental examinations and treatment. All the girls, either in the extension department or in the resident department, attend public, parochial, business, or high schools, and, if they show promise and circumstances warrant it, they are given opportunities for college education. A definite effort is made to provide every girl with vocational training and guidance.¹

The experience of the John Edgar Thomson Foundation is by no means unique. Foundations for child care which were established in years gone by are beginning to analyze their services to children in the light of modern methods and are, through application to the courts, sometimes succeeding in liberalizing the conditions under which they were created.

Agencies for Social Planning

The Council of Social Agencies. "Mastery instead of drift" is the keynote of modern social work. One of the most significant trends in the field of child welfare today is the increasing emphasis upon far-sighted social planning and upon the development of community programs of child welfare.

Out of the experience of American communities with social work has come the development, during the past twenty-five years, of the council of social agencies or community council as an instrument of social planning. The council of social agencies is "a federated group of diversified welfare organizations in a local community, represented by officially appointed delegates, and having as its primary pur-

¹ *Constructive Vision in a Noted Welfare Project.* Philadelphia. Pennsylvania Railroad Information, April, 1929. 7 pp.

pose the development of an adequate welfare program for the community.”¹ The council usually includes both public and private agencies in its membership.

The specific objectives of the council and the channels through which it works, have thus been described by W. Frank Persons:²

Better factual basis for community planning: to secure the necessary factual basis for good social planning and action

Better team work among social agencies: to gain the advantages of concerted action

Better standards of social work: to increase the effectiveness of individual agencies

Better public understanding: to increase the general public understanding of what is being accomplished and what needs to be done

Better support of social work: to secure the wider public support that is due both to public and private social work.

In a recent study of 33 councils it was found that 20 of them had a child welfare division or committee.³ The function of such a body is the development of a well rounded dynamic child welfare program for the community. Such a program must be based upon patient, unremitting search for facts through special surveys and studies and through continuous research and collection of data of fundamental importance. Such a program is a collective adventure in the discovery and application of the creative values of group thinking. It implies continued self-education on the part of the children's organizations and the gradual building of higher standards on the foundations of common experience. As a part of such a program the council may offer, through its staff, to such of its member agencies as desire it, a friendly and skilled service of consultation, advice, and help with

¹ *A Directory of Community Welfare Organizations in Pennsylvania.* Philadelphia, Public Charities Association of Pennsylvania, January, 1927. p. 10.

² Persons, W. Frank, *The Welfare Council of New York City.* New York, The Coordination Committee, 1925. p. 10 *et passim*. 104 pp.

³ Dunham, Arthur, *Community Councils in Action.* Philadelphia, Public Charities Association of Pennsylvania, November, 1929. 27 pp.

individual problems. Finally, such a program means the "rallying of civic statesmanship" and "the focussing upon common enterprise of the combined influence of the social agencies of the city."¹

In many communities the council of social agencies is closely allied with a community chest. The joint financing of these two bodies implies a vital concern for social planning, since intelligent budgeting of finance involves budgeting of problems and the determination of social programs. Moreover, the chest is often in a strategic position to help bring about the initiation of desirable new services, and the modification of traditional agency programs in the interest of more effective service to the community.

State-Wide Agencies

The need for social planning on behalf of handicapped children is not confined to cities. Distances, wide distribution of population, lack of funds, resources, and leadership, create special needs and special problems in applying community planning to rural districts.

The county is, in general, the logical unit for social planning outside the larger cities. In some states, such as North Carolina, Pennsylvania, and New York, there are examples of county-wide councils of social agencies representing both public and private welfare agencies. In other instances a public agency such as a county board of welfare or a county board of child welfare may assume the leadership in the development of a broad county-wide program of child care. The potentialities of such county-wide public agencies may be indefinitely multiplied if there is wise and skilled state-wide leadership from a well equipped state department of welfare.

No city or county, however large, can afford to lose sight of its place within that larger entity, the state. Child caring problems transcend local boundaries. In the last analysis no sound child welfare program for a community or a county

¹ de Schweinitz, Karl, *The All-Philadelphia Community Council*. Philadelphia, 1930. p. 9. 11 pp.

can ever be developed apart from a sound child welfare program for the state as a whole. "Local child-caring organizations operate under the provisions and restrictions of state laws, and local service is conditioned by both state welfare legislation and administration." ¹

State-wide social planning involves research, education, legislation, the development of standards, and the coordination of social forces, state and local. The greatest success in public welfare is achieved when there is a union of forces between technically qualified public officials and interested citizens. Moreover, state-wide solidarity is indispensable to state-wide progress in social welfare.

A significant state-wide experiment in social planning is the Ten Year Program of Child Welfare for Pennsylvania, which is being cooperatively developed under the leadership of the Child Welfare Division of the Public Charities Association of Pennsylvania. This program is directed toward the formulation of long-time plans for more effectively meeting the needs of more than 125,000 dependent, neglected, delinquent, and handicapped children in Pennsylvania. In connection with this undertaking nearly a thousand public officials, social workers, and other citizens participated in 68 local round table sessions in 38 counties, for the discussion of state-wide children's problems; 9 state-wide committees, with a total of more than a hundred members, drafted programs for the respective divisions of the field of children's work; a state-wide citizens' committee issued 9,000 copies of the program in tentative form, inviting criticisms, comments and suggestions; and finally, a state-wide child welfare conference attended by 250 leaders in the field of family and child welfare in Pennsylvania unanimously adopted this program, thus marking the passing of this state's adventure in child welfare from the stage of planning to that of an organized and coordinated attempt to carry the program into effect.

¹ Dunham, Arthur and Tyson, Helen Glenn, *Child Care in Pittsburgh*. The Pittsburgh Child Welfare Study Report I. Pittsburgh, Federation of Social Agencies, 1930. p. 33. 54 pp.

Among the types of state-wide organizations which are expressing leadership in social planning in various states are: (1) the state department of welfare, the social planning function of which is especially important in the more sparsely populated states where there are few other state-wide welfare agencies; (2) children's code commissions officially appointed by various states at various times to study and suggest revisions in the laws relating to children, the leadership of which is concerned primarily, of course, with legislation; (3) state-wide citizens' organizations, such as the State Charities Aid Association of New York, the Public Charities Association of Pennsylvania, and the Ohio Institute, which have developed programs that cover a wide range of activities and projects in the field of social planning; (4) councils of state-wide agencies which have made a number of experiments, but in general have failed to attain their fullest usefulness because of lack of adequate finances and staff service; (5) the state conference of social work, which in some states, such as Wisconsin, has gone far beyond its traditional function as an open forum, and has actively entered the field of social planning and social legislation.

Citizens' Organizations. Illustrations of how state-wide private agencies may help in community engineering on a state-wide basis and in the development and improvement of public welfare work are found in the history of both New York and Pennsylvania, where the New York State Charities Aid Association and the Pennsylvania Public Charities Association each have an enviable record of achievement.

New York and Pennsylvania offer illustrations of the influence that may be exerted upon public welfare programs through the development of state-wide private agencies. Both states have associations of citizens interested in reducing the suffering, social waste, and expense entailed by dependency, mental disease, and crime. These associations have been organized to take an intelligent interest in their local problems as well as in the welfare problems of the state.

The New York State Charities Aid Association, organized in 1872, is the elder organization, and has many thousands of members throughout the state. The central association works through county committees in matters which have to do purely with county administration, and combines with the county committee to influence state-wide measures in matters of state-wide concern.

The State Charities Aid Association has been principally concerned with the organization of active interest in public welfare programs, public welfare administration, the administration of public charitable and health institutions, and programs for the prevention of disease, dependency, and delinquency. The association, which is divided into a number of committees dealing with specialized subjects, has also been an important factor in general legislative activity, such as helping to secure the public health law, the county juvenile court law, and many others of almost equal importance. Some of its most outstanding contributions have been the organization of children's work in the counties, the setting of standards in child welfare work, and the stimulation of the interest of local citizens in better care of the delinquent, dependent, and neglected children of their immediate vicinity.¹

The Public Charities Association of Pennsylvania, a younger association, is not as large, but has a membership that represents every county in the state. The association functions through a variety of divisions and committees dealing with such problems as mental hygiene, child welfare, penal affairs, poor relief, state welfare legislation and so forth. This association is exerting an increasing influence.

State departments of welfare are apt to be hampered by statutory provisions and budgetary limitations, and they therefore welcome assistance from private organizations, such as the New York State Charities Aid Association and the Public Charities Association of Pennsylvania.

Conferences of Social Work. State conferences of social

¹ Folks, Homer, *Fifty Years, Their Real Meaning*. New York, State Charities Aid Association, May, 1922. 19 pp.

work in many states have grown in importance and have opportunities to assume significant leadership in the building of any state welfare program. They are privately organized and allow for the free cooperation of non-professional citizens, professional social workers, and public officials. It is far better to have such state conferences cooperating with state departments of welfare than as adjuncts of these public departments.

Questionnaires were sent out in May, 1928, to representatives of 40 state conferences, of which 25 replied. These replies showed that there are an increasing number of these conferences conducting institutes or short study courses, many of which are along child welfare lines. It is evident from the replies to the questionnaire that state conferences are usually concerned with stimulating and educating public opinion leading to legislative activity rather than with formulating and presenting social legislation. Opinions differ as to the wisdom of allowing a conference to enter this controversial field. The programs of state conferences vary of necessity according to the needs of the states in which they operate.

In any case the group thinking which takes place in a state conference of social work can be of great value to the state as a whole and undoubtedly should be encouraged.

RELATIONSHIP OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE AGENCIES

Service Relationships

The fact that both public and private agencies serve handicapped children and that a comprehensive community service reaching all children is needed raises the question of relationships between public and private agencies. It is important to define these relationships clearly.

The principal points of contact between private and public social work lie in service and finance. A satisfactory adjustment of these relationships depends upon such factors as harmony in policy and method; the provision of a comprehensive service to all children as a fulfilment of the

obligation of the community towards its handicapped children; combined financial resources equal to the demands for service; a ready response to demands for modifications in private and public programs according to their respective abilities and deficiencies and to community needs.

The problem of the relationship between public and private service has been worked out differently in almost every state in the union, but seems, fundamentally, to rest on the premise that the private agency shall have the fullest opportunity of development consistent with the establishment and maintenance of high standards of work. The private agency was generally in the field first and, through the zeal and intelligence of its work, has greatly stimulated the development of public service. The private agency can point the way to service to the few; the public agency must be in a position to apply those principles to the many.

The state is the ultimate expression of the community will and power and must therefore see to it that the rights and duties of citizens are protected. This raises the question of reasonable division of responsibility and service between public and private agencies. Private resources have never been adequate to solve all social welfare problems, and only the state can exercise the police power necessary to achieve social welfare objectives, particularly in respect to delinquent and neglected children. It is important, however, to keep clearly in mind the inherent right of citizens, both individually and through associations, to undertake any form of social welfare work which is not detrimental to the interests of the state. Public authorities should undertake only those responsibilities which cannot satisfactorily be fulfilled by citizens themselves through their own private efforts. On the other hand private agencies should not undertake new work in an attempt to supplement a public program. It is rather their function to stimulate the public to attain a more efficient service through public means. The state must always retain the right to supervise the activities of the citizens and must stand ready to supplement their efforts.

If the states were to assume exclusive responsibility for

any form of social work, the work would lose the personal service, now freely given, of a large number of its citizens, and large financial resources now available to private social agencies, would rapidly dry up.

The building up of public services which will care for children, either in their own homes or in substitute family homes of the same religious belief, will help to remove one of the factors which has operated as a strong motive in inspiring religious groups to build their own institutions. Every effort on the part of the state to extend the allowances to mothers, strengthen the workmen's compensation law, prevent needless accidents in industry, grant public money for the boarding of children in homes of the same religious faith as that of the child, will help to remove the incentive to develop new institutions or expand old ones. The institutions have constituted the most widely used agency for the care of dependent children for so many generations that an immediate change of attitude cannot be effected.

Public and private services to children in each community should cooperate intelligently in their work. Uniform rules cannot be drawn up as to the respective part each should play, since the needs of the communities are so various. Which functions each service shall assume should be decided in each case by the services themselves, and should be based on broad considerations of available tax resources and the advancement of child welfare within the particular community.

Financial Relationships

The financial relationship between the public and private agency is a perplexing one. There are few parts of the country where appropriations from tax funds to private organizations are not made in one form or another. There are no accurate figures available to show the total amount thus appropriated or its relative proportion to expenditures from private funds. It is, however, known to be very large, and to support a great number of children.

The sources of the tax funds appropriated to private

organizations, the basis upon which these funds are distributed, and the underlying conceptions back of the appropriations vary.

The following practices are found to exist:

Appropriations of tax funds made by state legislatures, or by appropriating authorities of local divisions of the state, directly to private organizations in lump sums

Appropriations of tax funds by state legislatures, or by appropriating authorities of local divisions of the state, in the form of payments to private organizations based upon the number of children under care, and assigned to the custody of the private organization by some qualified authority. These are known as per capita payments of tax funds to private organizations

Appropriations of tax funds by state legislatures or by appropriating authorities of local divisions of the state directly to a state department or local department dealing with welfare matters, to be by that department distributed, under its own rules, to private organizations

Appropriations of tax funds by the appropriating authorities of local divisions of the state directly to private organizations, the amount being based upon a contractual arrangement for services to be rendered by the private organization, and payments to the private organization to be made upon a time period basis

Appropriations of tax funds by the appropriating authorities of local divisions of the state directly to private organizations for certain specified items of service such as workers' salaries, travelling expenses, clothing for children, and the like

Provision for private funds to be expended by public agencies.

In times past public contributions to private agencies were generally for a wider variety of services than is now

the case. The states or the local public units are equipping themselves more and more to provide for the mentally handicapped, the delinquent, or the tuberculous, and their payments to private organizations for the care of these classes of children have diminished correspondingly.

The greatest number of children still affected by systems of public payments are the dependent and neglected. Through such payments state or local governments have assisted private effort to undertake responsibility for children for whom the public might otherwise have had to make full provision. Unless the state had supported through public payments the efforts of private philanthropy, it is extremely doubtful whether the large resources now available for the care of dependent children could ever have been called into existence or could continue to be maintained.

There is some danger that the private agency will expect the state to carry on an increasing financial burden and that public funds will be diverted from more needed objects. Public payments should be made on a per capita rather than on a lump sum basis, and the quantity and quality of service given in return should receive careful consideration. Children paid for by the public should be placed with the private agency only on the authority of the public official or board responsible for them, and the term of their stay should be controlled by this placing officer. This arrangement presupposes proper case work methods governing intake and discharge and case work with the family while the child is under care.

The present trend in the granting of public funds to private agencies is in the direction of providing aid for certain classes of dependents through a central department, state or local, which has authority to arrange for care and to supervise the agencies providing care.

Because of the intricacy of these many financial problems, their widespread presence and their influence on the development of future programs of child care, a further study should be made of the relationships between private child welfare organizations and public funds.

Systems of State Aid

Appropriation bills passed in 1929 in 22 states carried provisions for funds to be paid in lump sum or per capita payments to private agencies.¹ State aid to private organizations has been specifically limited by constitutional provisions in about half of the states. Such provisions may prohibit grants or restrict them to non-sectarian organizations or to organizations providing services to special groups such as the physically handicapped, the delinquent, the orphaned, or the aged.

The following descriptions of the use of state funds in selected states illustrate some of the methods that are used:

Pennsylvania. A number of states are using the system of lump sum payment from a state legislature, under which it is difficult to estimate the quality of service received or to control the intake and outgo. Pennsylvania is an outstanding example among the states using this system, because of the number of children's agencies affected and the amount of money expended. The total amount appropriated for the biennium 1929 to 1931 for 49 private child caring organizations was \$351,000.²

In the Pennsylvania system appropriations are made direct to a child caring organization by the legislature. The organization specifies in the appropriation bill an amount which there is a reasonable hope of securing, allowing for possible cuts by legislative committee and governor. There is no attempt on the part of the legislature to evaluate the work of the organization asking for state aid or to inquire into its standards. If its representative is persuasive enough, his championship of the cause is usually accepted as a guarantee of its value. The governor may veto the appropriation, may sign it for the full sum or may sign it for a smaller amount than that granted by the legislature. Sectarian and unincorporated agencies are not eligible to receive state aid.

¹ Breckinridge, S. P., "Public Welfare Organization With Reference to Child Welfare Activities." *Social Service Review*, Vol. IV, Sept., 1930, p. 403.

² Minimum standards for state-aided organizations were set up by the Department of Welfare in 1932.

All children's agencies in Pennsylvania are supervised by the Department of Welfare. In the case of state-aided organizations, quarterly financial reports and a uniform system of bookkeeping are required in addition. Payments are made to these organizations only when these reports show that without state funds there is a deficit. There is danger in this plan of putting a premium on inefficient methods. Since there is little relationship between the amount of state aid received and the needs of the child welfare organization, the number of children cared for, the standards of care given or the need of the community for the kind of work done, this system tends to perpetuate the duplication of organizations without satisfactory standards and the neglect of other more important needs.

Pennsylvania, however, has squarely faced the question of state aid to hospitals. Although the appropriations to hospitals are still made directly by the legislature, payments from these appropriations are made on a per capita basis in return for free or partially paid for care given to individuals. The department of welfare reviews all cases the expenses of which the hospitals wish to charge against their state appropriations; only those accepted by the department representatives may be so charged. This plan has resulted in greater efficiency in hospital management and the administration of state aid for the benefit of the sick poor.

It is, of course, easier to put state payments to hospitals on a per capita basis than it is to make such an arrangement for child caring agencies. Nevertheless, the fact that state aid to hospitals has been so well worked out in Pennsylvania gives hope of improvement in the field of appropriations for child care.

*California.*¹ California also grants state aid, but its system is quite different from that of Pennsylvania. Per capita payments for the care of orphans, half-orphans, or aban-

¹ First Biennial Report of the Department of Social Welfare of the State of California, 1927-1928. Sacramento (1929); see also *History of State Aid for Children in California*, an unpublished paper by Wiley M. Pope, May, 1930.

doned children are made to both public and private local organizations.

The constitution adopted in 1879 authorized the granting of aid, but since then there have been many changes in policies. Originally most of the state aid given went to private institutions for the care of dependent and neglected children. After the San Francisco fire in 1906, this aid was extended to provide boarding care for these children and, as it became apparent that many children could be cared for by their own mothers, granting of public aid from state funds to children in their own homes followed.

The contrasting figures for the years 1911 and 1927 indicate the changes in the methods of care of dependent children receiving state aid in California. In 1911 the Board of Control granted direct aid to institutions for the care of 4,062 children, and to counties for 3,349 children chiefly cared for by their mothers. On the first day of January, 1928, the number of children with their mothers or other relatives receiving state aid through the counties had increased to 11,398; less than a thousand receiving state aid were in children's institutions.

The statute gives to the Department of Social Welfare very wide powers in the administration of aid, and it has adopted regulations for the granting of aid. State aid is not a pension granted automatically to all orphans and half orphans, but is based on the element of need. The department has set up standards of care both for county workers and for institutions and requires adequate social service in order that the resources of these institutions may be utilized to the best advantage.

Ohio. An initial appropriation of \$50,000 was made in Ohio in 1906 for the purpose of establishing a state institution for crippled children. This appropriation was enlarged to \$90,000 and reappropriated until 1919, but the institution was never built. An appropriation later was made by which contracts with individuals, institutions, and hospitals could be made by the Department of Public Welfare to cover all expenses involved in the care of crippled children,

such costs to be paid by the department and charged back to the county in which the ward has his legal residence.

A crippled child is committed to the department of public welfare by a juvenile judge, the county paying for his care if the parents are financially unable to do so. The travelling expenses for a child and the escort are not charged back to the county. The expenses for which the county actually pays are: mental, medical, surgical, dental and optical examinations and treatment, physiotherapy, braces, artificial limbs, education when necessary, boarding, clothing and personal necessities. The Ohio program actually involves county aid to crippled children administered by the state, the cost of administration being paid by the state.

Local Public Payments to Private Agencies

Local public units as well as states are paying for the support of children under the care of private agencies. Because of the number of these local units and the lack of printed reports it is impossible to determine the extent to which payments are made on a per capita as against a lump sum basis. Since in many states provision is made for payment from the public treasury for support of children committed by the juvenile court to private institutions and agencies, it is probable that a large part of the payments of local governmental units are on a per capita basis. Two of the many systems in use have been chosen for description.

Chicago. The laws of Illinois have made it mandatory upon the counties to pay certain private institutions and agencies for services provided for dependent children committed to their care by the juvenile court. The amount that the counties are to pay to the industrial schools and training schools so provided for has been fixed by statute as \$15 a month for each girl and \$10 a month for each boy. In 1923, however, it was made legally possible for the county to decide upon the amount to be paid to child placing agencies. A sum not to exceed \$30 a month for each child placed in a boarding home was agreed upon.

In a study made in 1926 it was found that the per-

centage of the income from public funds of 14 institutions varied from 11.5 to 66.6 of the total funds received from any source. It was found also that about 45 per cent of the dependent children who came before the juvenile court were being supported in whole or in part from public funds, a large proportion of these children being under care of 21 institutions and 4 child placing agencies.¹

The major problem associated with the use of county funds for the care of children in Illinois is the lack of power of the county commissioners or the juvenile court to supervise the institutions in which children are placed by the court. These institutions must be licensed and inspected annually by the state department of public welfare, but the agency which must support a child is given no responsibility for improving or developing the care that is rendered.

New York City. Approximately one hundred and sixty private agencies are recipients of public payments from the City of New York and represent a variety of services and organizations. The agencies that are eligible for public money are those which have been approved by the City Department of Public Welfare and included by the Board of Estimate and Apportionment in the annual budget of the city. They are also under the inspection of the State Department of Social Welfare as well as of the city department of public welfare, and those agencies that furnish boarding home care must conform to certain standards.

Approximately nine million dollars are spent annually in these public payments to private agencies. In 1929, the year's income was expended for 15,507 dependent children, 1,203 delinquent children and 277 physically handicapped children. There were other children, the exact number of whom could not be ascertained, cared for in hospitals and convalescent homes.

These payments are made in general on a per capita basis, a few lump sum appropriations being made to hos-

¹ Johnson, Arlien. "Subsidies From Public Funds to Private Children's Institutions and Agencies in Chicago," *Social Service Review*, Vol. III, June, 1929, pp. 169-206.

pitals and to a society for the prevention of cruelty to children in each borough of Greater New York. The city department of public welfare decides which children are eligible to become public charges and how long they may remain so.

The amount of per capita payments and the methods by which they are made from public funds to private agencies vary greatly. Some children are paid for on a daily basis, others weekly, and still others annually. Infants under two years of age, and children under five years of age in general hospitals, homeless mothers with nursing infants, and children receiving preventorium, orthopedic, and convalescent treatment, are all paid for at a daily rate. Blind and feeble-minded children are also paid for on a *per diem* basis.

The arrangements for dependent children vary greatly. A flat rate may be paid, children in special types of institutions or children placed in family boarding homes being allowed additional sums for their maintenance. There is a flat sum allowed annually for delinquent children in institutions, and definite sums are allocated for the annual supervision of children placed in homes both in and outside the city of New York, these sums varying according to the location of the home in which the child is placed. A small daily payment for vocational training in suitably equipped institutions has also been worked out.

There are few places where public payments to private agencies have been worked out with such care and with such a great variety of classification and per capita amounts as in New York City.¹

MODERN TRENDS IN SOCIAL WORK

Preventive Aspects

Through the growing interest of private and public social workers in the causes and nature of family breakdown, great

¹ Information supplied by the Welfare Council of New York City, October, 1930.

advance has been made in the last fifty years in strengthening family life and safeguarding children. Interest has also developed in stabilizing economic and social life so that to some degree dependency is being prevented. This stabilizing movement has gone hand in hand with the advances in the public health field which have proved that many accidents and much disease and death can be prevented, with a consequent decrease of dependency.

The public has come to realize that it is more important to protect children than to provide care for them after they have met social disaster. Organizations designed to deal with factors menacing family life are coming into prominence. More adequate aid in their own homes is being provided by both public and private agencies to dependent families. Socialized court procedures, protective services to children, specialized services and classes in public school systems, child guidance clinics, early treatment of physical defects, supervision of mentally defective children in their own homes, councils for educating parents to a deeper and more accurate understanding of child life, vocational training and community programs for the wise use of leisure time are throwing the mantle of protection about children predisposed to serious handicaps.

These new developments have come slowly, and large sections of the United States are as yet uninfluenced by them. The establishment of such work in some sections, however, points to the possibility of similar developments on a country-wide scale.

Need for Family Welfare

A very large proportion of children who are at one time or another cared for away from their homes return to their families. The average period of foster home or institutional care has been estimated to be two years. Not only, therefore, must careful case work methods be used in deciding to remove a child from his home, but something must be done during his absence to improve these home conditions, or he will be little better off for the time, money, and spiritual

effort expended upon his welfare. Good family welfare work, therefore, is the foundation of good child welfare work, and professional case work service is essential in planning treatment and care.

It is a hopeful sign that institutions and foster home societies are now providing care for children away from their homes only if they have been proved by individual study to be definitely in need of it. There is also a greater interest in returning the child to his own family as soon as this may be done wisely. An increasing number of institutions and agencies which formerly concentrated on caring for children permanently separated from their own homes have reorganized and broadened their services. Some child placing societies which at one time placed children only in free homes for long-time care have added protective programs to their activities or are seeking to provide for each child the particular treatment he requires; and some institutions now aid children in their own families or board them in foster homes.

The integration of case work service with institutional care is perhaps the most outstanding development in the institutional field at present. An increasing number of institutions are either employing case workers of their own or are calling upon community case working agencies for service in their intake and outgo.

Children receiving special training in institutions for delinquents or for the physically handicapped and an increasing number of children receiving training in institutions for the mentally deficient are also returned to their families. The home plays an important part in the readjustment of these children in their communities, and the need for case work with the families as well as constructive supervision of the children who are paroled is gradually being realized.

Social Case Work

The development of case work standards in organizations caring for children is steadily progressing. Standards

set by agencies whose resources enabled them to experiment and develop adequate methods of child care are gradually being attained by both public and private agencies throughout the country.

State supervision of local public and private agencies has been of the greatest value in creating an understanding of case work methods and in furthering their adoption. The standards of many private agencies are being raised through the work of state departments, and many localities, even those that are rural, are demanding the services of case workers in public agencies caring for children.

The work of certain national organizations interested in the extension of child welfare, and the development of satisfactory methods and standards of care has greatly stimulated the development of child care during the past quarter of this century. One of the important operations of these agencies is urging their local branches to coordinate their respective services. Municipal or county departments or agents charged with administering public relief are beginning to use social case work service. Since these agencies grant aid to many families with children, the importance of their providing case work services that will prevent family breakdown can not be overemphasized. The social case work done in some mothers' aid services, in a number of municipal departments of public welfare and in some county welfare boards or departments, demonstrates what can be achieved by adequate public relief administration. The development of cooperative relationships with private family agencies is of fundamental importance in the development of socialized public relief.

Public Responsibility

Within the last two decades there has been rapid growth in the development of public provisions for the care of children. This is shown in the steady expansion in public aid to children in their own homes, in the development of municipal, county, and state departments providing services to children, and in the payment of public funds for the sup-

port of children in boarding homes or under the care of special agencies. The growth of county child welfare programs fostered by the state has been one of the most significant aspects of this development. State grants-in-aid and the assistance of the state department in obtaining qualified case workers, are making it possible for many counties, even the most rural, to provide constructive care to children in need.

The development of county welfare activities and the emphasis on local responsibility for care will ultimately have a wide influence over policies and work of state departments and private agencies doing child-placing throughout a state. In a few states changes in policies are already in evidence. State departments are able to keep under county care many children who previously would have been committed to the state because of lack of local resources. A few state-wide private child placing agencies, realizing the need for creating a sense of local responsibility for conditions causing child dependency, have established county branches or district offices so that qualified children's agents may be available to local communities for the intelligent handling of their child caring problems.

Community Programs

In many communities at the present time programs of child care are not well balanced. Agencies have been created by various groups interested in providing a particular type of care for a special group of children. This has resulted in duplication of some types of care and limited provision of others. Some communities may provide adequately for dependent children and have limited services for the delinquent, the mentally deficient, and the physically handicapped. Adequate provision for the care of children involves many different types of service. The needs of the child and the resources of the community to meet the particular need must be determined in every instance by thoroughgoing individual case work. The institution, which has held a domi-

nating place in the field of child care in the past, still has a definite place, but it is subordinate to the whole program and must of necessity be integrated with it.

Central community financing, central councils of social agencies, state boards and departments of public welfare, and county welfare boards, have done much during the last quarter of a century not only to weld together private and public child caring services, through states and local communities, but also to relate them functionally to services in other fields and to develop more qualified standards in social work. Movements looking toward the extension of group thinking from the smaller unit of the community to the county and the state are indicative of a growing appreciation of the need for organized programs of child care.

The entire program in many places has undergone reorganization. Agencies and institutions which have long specialized in one type of care are changing their methods and functions to meet new needs and some which have hitherto maintained a policy of isolation from community activities are joining in group planning.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The purpose of all child welfare organizations, public and private, should be the prevention and correction of conditions causing dependency, delinquency, disease, or other forms of handicap, and the protection of family life rather than the offering of substitutes for it.

2. Divisions of responsibility for service between public and private agencies in states and local communities should be developed according to a definitely accepted program for the community and the state. Such relationships would depend upon the relative degrees to which public and private agencies have already been developed, the financial resources of taxing bodies and of private wealth, and the quality of understanding and appreciation of social work existing among the personnel of government and the general public.

3. Private agencies should maintain high standards of work and should also help to develop public understanding and appreciation of modern social work to the end that public social work be led to establish and maintain high standards of performance and continuity of satisfactory personnel and policies.

4. Social case work service permitting of social diagnosis and individual treatment should be an integral part of all work for handicapped children.

5. No new child caring activity should be established unless related to a carefully planned community program, and no new child caring organization should be incorporated without approval, of the state department responsible for its subsequent supervision, such approval to be based on the value of the work under consideration. Reorganization of old agencies also should be considered, but should be undertaken only in the light of newly understood community needs.

6. The question of financial cooperation between public and private welfare services presents one of the most difficult phases of public and private relationships. Thorough research into and evaluation of the present practices therefore should be made to the end that complete data on this subject may be available for the entire country. A more qualified judgment will then be possible as to what policies are to be pursued in the future.

HISTORY AND ADMINISTRATION OF
LOCAL PUBLIC UNITS

HISTORY AND ADMINISTRATION OF LOCAL PUBLIC UNITS

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

Prior to 1900

IN the early days of this country no separate provision was made for dependent or delinquent children. Whether their condition was the result of misfortune or of misconduct on the part of themselves or of others, they received exactly the same treatment which the laws provided for adults. Children who were thrust upon the public for support ordinarily were bound out or were sent to almshouses with the adult poor. Those who got into serious trouble were brought before a criminal court, tried for their offenses and, if convicted, were sent to jails and lockups along with adult offenders. Outdoor relief, sparingly administered, provided for a few children in their own homes.

In the New England states the town was adopted as the

Note: Report of the Committee on the Administration of Local Public Units of Child Care and Protection, H. Ida Curry, Chairman.

The sources of information for this material are:

- ^a Field study by Susan M. Boyd and research study by Roy Brown, Ph.D., made for the joint use of the four committees of Section IV of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection.
- ^b Folks, Homer, *The Care of Destitute, Neglected, and Delinquent Children*. New York, Macmillan (c. 1902) 251 pp.
- ^c Odum, Howard W., and Willard, D. W., *Systems of Public Welfare*. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1925. 302 pp.
- ^d Kelso, Robert W., *The Science of Public Welfare*. New York, Henry Holt & Co. (c. 1928) 428 pp.
- ^e Personal conferences and correspondence with representatives of state departments of public welfare; state children's bureaus; United States Children's Bureau; Child Welfare League of America, and so forth.

unit of administration. In New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey responsibility was divided between the towns and the counties, but in the southern and western states the county generally became the unit of public administration for the care and support of poor persons, including children.

The difficulty of securing a settlement in a given town by reason of the stringent settlement laws, threw upon the State of Massachusetts direct responsibility for a large number of adults and children who constituted the "unsettled poor." Thus a precedent was set for state care although the town remained the local administrative unit for the "settled" poor.

As early as 1735, New York City had arranged that neglected children might be bound out, and in 1797 Maryland provided for the binding out of the children of beggars. These appear to be the only early examples of recognition of the specialized needs of children apart from those of adults. Changes in public child care in the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century were almost negligible and on the whole followed the provisions made for adults. There was a tendency toward an increasing use of the almshouses, and a decreasing use of outdoor relief. The binding out and the contract system were passing into disuse for both adults and children. Almshouse care for children was condemned periodically through the early parts of the nineteenth century, these institutions being declared "for the young the worst possible nurseries," but in the main no other provision for these children was made.

In so far as we know the first appropriation of public funds for an institution exclusively for children was authorized in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1790. At that time there were but few other child caring institutions, public or private, in the country.

In 1849, during a cholera epidemic in New York City because "the mortality among children at nurse for the almshouse was awfully fatal and extensive," an agent was employed by the city to visit the children under care; thus appeared the first field service to children.

As early as 1851 it was found that in the 3 state almshouses in Massachusetts which cared for the unsettled poor, over one-half of the population was children. One of the three almshouses, the one at Monson, was definitely set aside in 1866 as a special state primary school for children. This appears to be the earliest provision for the separation of children from adults, both remaining, however, under almshouse management.

In 1866 Ohio authorized the establishment of county children's homes, to be managed by boards of trustees appointed by the county commissioners. These county homes constituted the first public county units of child care, separately administered from adult relief.

In the 1870's New York, Massachusetts, and certain other states passed laws providing that children should no longer be cared for in almshouses with the adult poor. The New York law specifically added that the public authorities "shall provide for such child or children in families, orphan asylums, hospitals, or other appropriate institutions." This provision should be noted because it specifically provided for the support of dependent children by tax money outside of almshouses.

Michigan, in 1874, was the first state to establish an exclusive state system for the care of dependent children by organizing a state school for the care of all destitute children requiring public support, until they could be placed in free foster homes. However, it recognized the need of local units to assist the state in its administration, and provided a system of county agents appointed by the governor to represent the state in its work in behalf of children. Certain county duties in connection with the juvenile court later were assigned to these agents, who thus served both state and county.

Minnesota in 1885 established a state school similar to the one in Michigan, and also discovered the necessity of having some assistance from the counties. In 1897 the county superintendents of schools were made ex-officio agents of the state school. No less than 11 other states followed the gen-

eral state school plan set by Michigan, but no definite county units for the administration of child care were established. Such county service as was provided was mainly in the nature of assistance to the state authorities in carrying the responsibilities which the state itself had assumed.

In Ohio the county homes for children, as they developed, were the most like local units for child care. By 1901 such units had been developed in 48 of the 88 counties in the state. The homes were administered by trustees, separate from the administration of assistance to the adult poor. In 5 additional counties administration was by the county commissioners themselves, 9 maintained the children in private institutions, one county boarded its children in family homes and 25 boarded their children in homes maintained by other counties.

In 1883 Connecticut, following the example of Ohio, also established county homes for children. In Connecticut the children's homes were administered by three county commissioners, together with one representative of the State Department of Health and one of the State Board of Charities. By this arrangement the state participated in the county care of children. The towns supported the children who were committed to the county homes by the selectmen, and the county met the cost of those committed by the courts.

In Indiana, in 1881 county homes were authorized and the appointment by the State Board of Charities of county boards of unpaid visitors was provided for. At first these visitors had no authority, but some counties took advantage of later legislative action and the visitors were entrusted with the management of the children's homes, so that unpaid boards actively participated in the public administration of child care.

In 1892, by act of Congress, a Board of Children's Guardians was established for the District of Columbia which, in size and population, is comparable to a county in many of the states. This board became the legal guardian of all children committed to it by the court, whether as dependent, neglected, delinquent, or in need of special care.

It did not have the power to take children into custody itself, except temporarily until a court hearing could be arranged. In addition the board of children's guardians became the investigating agency for all cases in which neglect or abuse of children was alleged. In the District of Columbia, therefore, we see the earliest local public unit of child care, created solely to administer protection, care, and support to all types of needy children, and provided with a carefully selected professional staff.

In New York State the responsibility for the care of the poor was divided between a county superintendent of the poor, town overseers of the poor, and city commissioners of charity. In about one-half of the counties children requiring public support became county charges; in the other half they remained town charges. Without attempting to secure any change in the Poor Law, the State Charities Aid Association, a private state-wide organization, initiated an attempt to improve the public administration of child care by the officials responsible. In 1893 this organization, through a children's committee for the City and Town of Newburgh, cooperated with the public officials in employing an agent to inquire into the circumstances of all children who were then supported by the city and town, to investigate the circumstances of all children for whom public support was asked; to assist the commissioners of charity in caring for all classes of needy children. This system emphasized individual consideration before commitment, and the specialized treatment of every child in need of support or protection. Its unique features were the recognition of the importance of investigation before commitment, and the placing of equal emphasis on public field service to, and public support of, children.

In 1899 New Jersey established its State Board of Children's Guardians to care for children. No special county or local units of service were provided although the costs of care were charged back to the towns.

The public systems of child care which had been adopted in the various states prior to 1900 in the main were given

76 ORGANIZATION FOR HANDICAPPED

by Homer Folks in his *The Care of Destitute, Neglected and Dependent Children*:

The state school and placing out system adopted by Michigan, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Rhode Island, Kansas, Colorado, Nebraska, Montana, Nevada and Texas

The county children's home system, adopted by Ohio, Connecticut, and Indiana

The plan of supporting public charges in private institutions, which prevailed in New York, California, Maryland, the District of Columbia, and to some extent in several other states

The boarding out and placing out system, carried on directly by the public authorities in Massachusetts; through a private organization, the Children's Aid Society, in Pennsylvania; and just being undertaken by the state authorities in New Jersey.

Prior to 1900 comparatively few child caring activities were emphasizing care for children in their own homes, and even fewer were seriously considering *why* the children accepted for care needed their ministrations. The principal emphasis was on the type of care which should be given to children who had been taken away from their own families.

Beginnings of a New Era

In 1901 the New York State Charities Aid Association organized work similar to that previously described in the City and Town of Newburgh, in Columbia County, and in 1905 in Rockland County. In 1907, it undertook to press forward more vigorously the establishment of similar county agencies throughout the state. Their organization proceeded slowly at first, but by 1917 nearly half of the fifty-seven counties outside of greater New York were employing one or more professional child welfare workers. This county service to children was effected simply by the employment of social workers to assist the public officials who already were responsible for the care of the poor and needy, including children. Their employment was justified by a general provision in the Poor Law that children must be cared for, and was merely a method of carrying out this provision.

Since 1917 practically all of the counties of New York

State have appropriated public funds for the employment of at least one child caring agent to assist the public authorities in looking after children. The local programs vary to some extent but the majority of the workers are trained social workers. They assist not only the public welfare officials, as the old poor law officers have come to be called, but the judges of the children's courts. Many of them also are investigators for the local boards which administer mothers' aid, thus unifying the children's work of the county. At first those workers were supported in part by private funds locally raised, but the entire cost has come more and more to be assumed by the counties. From the beginning, however, the workers were assistants of, and not substitutes for, the public officials.

The year 1917 may be considered the beginning of a new epoch in which county units of child care and protection have been an outstanding feature. During 1917 a national committee which had been named by a volunteer group of workers in the child caring field, undertook to ascertain just what social work affecting children was being carried on in the rural field. The results were reported in a paper given at the National Conference of Social Work in Kansas City in 1918. The reports on some states which now have well defined programs of child care, cited community sings, fiddlers' picnics, or a traveling library book-wagon as the only rural social efforts. An increase in the number of county probation officers was found, and occasionally one of them was a social worker. There were a few schools with a teacher rendering social service. The county children's work in New York, and the early branch units of the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, were practically the only real county units for child care, except a few widely scattered instances where a school teacher or a probation officer had developed a local field.

A call for those interested in rural social work, public or private, was made at this conference and brought together only some eight or ten persons. Social work, apparently, was still largely confined to cities.

Since 1917 some form of county or other local units of child welfare has been organized in no less than seventeen states, having been stimulated principally by state departments of public welfare, or of child welfare. In a few states private agencies have developed local units of service connected in one way or another with public child caring administration.

The organization of local units appears to have received stimulation at this particular period from several directions. Many discussions grew out of the establishment of the Kansas City Board of Public Welfare, of which L. A. Halbert was general superintendent, and a modified plan for county boards of public welfare, was advanced by Mr. Halbert and others. A report was given by C. C. Carstens at the National Conference of Social Work in Baltimore in 1915, entitled *A Community Plan in Children's Work*,¹ in which the establishment of county boards of child welfare was one feature of the suggested program. Children's code commissions in several states, studying governmental child caring agencies, and the types of children for whom public service or support was necessary, were led to consider the need of local as well as of state administrative agencies. The practical results of county-wide social case work were demonstrated by county child caring work, then known as County Agencies for Dependent Children, which had been stimulated in New York by the State Charities Aid Association.

PRESENT FORMS OF ADMINISTRATION

The term *local unit* is difficult to define. There is no uniformity found among the states as to the territory covered, form of administration, or function, and generally we find more than one kind of unit operating in each locality. The most cursory examination of systems in the different states shows that there are several forms of local administrative units, two of which frequently function simultaneously

¹ Carstens, C. C., *A Community Plan in Children's Work*. Baltimore, Russell Sage Foundation, Department of Child-Helping, Publication No. 19, 1915.

in the same area. Responsibility for the various types of service to children is distributed among them according to no uniform plan, and local units deal either with problems for which the state is responsible, or for which the county is responsible, or for both.

Some units provide service and support to children separated from their own homes, while others provide service to families of which the children are a part.

Duties of the local unit relate variously: exclusively to the care and protection of one or more types of handicapped children; to the care and protection of all types of handicapped children; to the care of one or more types of handicapped children plus the problems of school attendance; to the care of one or more types of handicapped plus the problems of school attendance, plus other forms of public welfare; to some other combination of the foregoing. The local unit may have as the administrator of child care: one public official or a board of public officials charged with the care of the poor; an unpaid citizen board primarily representing the state; an unpaid citizen board primarily representing the county; a court; a superintendent of child welfare who is not responsible for the general care of the poor; or a county children's home.

Single Official Versus a Board

The oldest local unit of child care is the single public official, or the board of public officials, frequently called commissioners, charged with the care of the poor of the locality. In a few places the offices of such commissioners, either with or without special legislation, have been equipped with a case working staff and have developed comprehensive child welfare programs. Some of these programs include the care of dependent and handicapped children who require any form of public support, and in at least a few instances they also definitely include the protection of neglected and abused children. There are, however, in a few states local welfare officials whose duties are limited to the care of the poor.

Generally, the commissioners who care for the poor, constitute the legislative body of the town or county, and their major duties have to do with raising taxes, making appropriations, and looking after such public works as the construction of roads, bridges, and buildings.

In practically all of the states studied the officials responsible for the care of the poor legally can give outdoor relief and can order support from public funds for poor children. Frequently but little use is made of this power and little or no money is made available for such purposes. In the states which have established state schools for dependent children, or have made other provision for their guardianship by the state, all too frequently children either are turned over to the state for care far away from their homes or remain in a condition of want or neglect, unless they belong to the group that may be assisted through mothers' aid laws. Unfortunately the limitations of the mothers' aid laws restricting, as they do, the classes of mothers who can receive this relief, provide only for children whose mothers are fit, although not financially able, to care for them. A deplorable lack of funds from any source to pay the cost of adequate home relief or of temporary support outside the home is prevalent.

In New York State the counties pay for the support of children who require care away from their homes, but home relief, as a rule, is sparingly given except to the mothers' aid group. Progress has been made in awakening public interest in the counties to the obligation of caring for needy children through trained social workers employed to assist the county commissioners of public welfare. Westchester County is an outstanding example of highly skilled public service to children administered under an efficient county official, through a well organized and professionally staffed department of child welfare. In the less populous counties of the state, a single social worker usually is employed. The principle of providing both service and support for children on a county-wide basis is now widely accepted in the state.

Under the new Public Welfare Act, which became operative throughout New York State, on January 1, 1930, responsibility for the welfare of every child in need is placed in each county upon a county commissioner of public welfare. Seven counties have placed the administration of outdoor relief also in his hands under a permissive clause in the law. This results in a completely centralized system of public relief, in these counties, where a single official may arrange for aid in the home, for boarding or institutional care, for medical care, or for whatever other type of treatment will most nearly meet the need of each child.

In Massachusetts, town public welfare officers have practically the same powers as the New York county commissioners. Twenty-three per cent of the towns in Massachusetts, however, have less than 1,000 population, making each town too small a unit for effective administration, both because of the limited number of cases requiring attention and the limited basis of taxation.

Iowa illustrates still another form of administration by officials. The situation is complicated by the number of township officers who may administer home relief, and the fact that juvenile court jurisdiction is lodged in a district court which also has jurisdiction in cases of dependency and mothers' aid. To remedy this situation the state recently has provided that the county supervisors may appoint a county overseer of the poor with powers coordinate with the existing Township Trustees of the Poor. Largely under the stimulation of the extension division of the state university, private agencies on a county basis have been organized in several counties whose executives (social workers), have been appointed as county overseers. In a few other counties the county supervisors are directly employing a social worker as county overseer without the assistance of a private agency. In the majority of counties, township trustees still act without such assistance. As the juvenile courts covering judicial districts which embrace several counties still must pass upon each case of dependency, before mothers' aid or any other form of public support for children can be

granted, the Iowa plan falls short of providing a unified county program of child care.

While the relief actually given to children by a single public official or board of officials usually is much more restricted than is necessary under the laws of the various states, administration of child care is still more sharply curtailed in those states in which responsibility for child care has been divided between officials who can give home relief or certain other forms of help, and juvenile courts which have exclusive jurisdiction of dependency and mothers' aid.

Unpaid Citizens' Boards

Representing the State. Unpaid local public boards of welfare in different states have been appointed by some local or state authority, or by both. In some cases, they have been authorized to administer directly one or more types of child care, and in others only to act as an assistant to a state board or to the local authorities.

Minnesota and North Carolina are among the states which have provided for county boards of welfare to assist the state board in carrying out its functions within a county. Both of these systems were inaugurated in 1917.

There is a material difference in the duties which these two state boards assign to the county boards. Minnesota has given its state board, through a State Children's Bureau, guardianship over and responsibility for protecting children born out of wedlock, for the feeble-minded committed to it, and for children who have been erroneously termed *unplaceable*, meaning children of varying types committed for various reasons who are not eligible for admission to the state school. Children thought at the time of commitment to be eligible for placement in free homes are sent to the state school, which is administered independently, the state children's bureau having no control over it. The state children's bureau depends on its county boards to look after the wards of the state within the respective counties, frequently through the volunteer service of board members. The state also uses

its county boards in performing its duties relating to inspection of free home placements, licensing boarding homes, approving legal adoptions, and so forth. State representatives visit and advise with board members and frequently do actual case work in the field. As each representative covers a dozen or more counties, her contacts with each county are necessarily infrequent.

In North Carolina the state carries no such direct case work responsibility as does the Minnesota Children's Bureau. The county board in North Carolina represents the state in questions of parole from state institutions, the administration of mothers' aid, to which the state contributes, and similar matters. The North Carolina State Board of Charities and Public Welfare appoints all three members of the county boards and has complete control over them. In Minnesota the State Board of Control appoints only the majority of the members of the county board, three in number, the other two members being county public officials.

When funds are made available by the county commissioners, a county board, in Minnesota, may employ an executive secretary, and the board may, upon request, assist the county commissioners and the juvenile court. Often when a social worker is so employed she takes over most of the work formerly performed by the board members. In North Carolina county superintendents of public welfare are provided, but they are not appointed by the county boards and their duties differ from those of the boards.

Representing the County. The types of county boards vary so greatly in character and function in the different states, that few generalizations concerning them can be made. Their character has been largely determined, first by the distribution of responsibility for the care and the support of children as between the state and the locality, and among the different agencies in the locality; and secondly, by the amount of money available for service to and support of children. In the states where these boards have been organized principally as adjuncts to a state board, their primary duties being to assist the state body in performing its duties

within the county, additional local functions frequently have been assigned to them. In other instances the county boards carry definite county responsibilities, either with or without additional local functions having frequently been assigned to them. In other instances the county boards carry definite county responsibilities, either with or without functions delegated by the state. Case work is included by some of the boards with their other responsibilities; others are concerned exclusively with case work or do not touch it at all. In many units the unpaid board members themselves perform the services; in other units paid secretaries or agents, either employed by the board or directly by the county officials, assist in performing the services.

Some boards are merely advisory, while some have full administrative authority. In some instances they cannot authorize the expenditure of public funds for the care of children, while in others they alone can do so. The Board of Child Welfare in Dutchess County, New York, organized in 1917, is an example of an unpaid board with full administrative powers. This board consists of ten persons—six citizens (appointed jointly by the county judge and the commissioner of public welfare), the county commissioner of public welfare and three members of the county board of supervisors. Sole authority has been given to this board in relation to the care, relief, and support of all classes of handicapped children, including (since January 1, 1930) outdoor relief to families in which there are children under sixteen years of age. Children requiring legal control or protection go to the juvenile court, which generally commits to the board all children requiring care except those sent to the state schools for delinquents, and the mentally deficient. This board is not only authorized, but is required to aid all types of children. Dutchess County thus presents completely centralized county care with but one administrative and one judicial unit. The type of service required for the welfare of each child can be selected by the board and paid for out of the budget for which the board of supervisors makes yearly appropriations.

In Alabama also, county boards of child welfare have been given direct administrative authority in the particular fields assigned to them. Money to meet a budget is appropriated to the board by the county fiscal authorities. This budget covers administrative expenses, but at present, does not include funds for the support of dependent, neglected, and otherwise handicapped children or for home relief.

Superintendents of Welfare

Another form of local service which assumes importance in any study of local welfare programs is represented by a county superintendent of public or child welfare, who is officially charged with certain duties relating to children and adults but who is not the official responsible for the general care of the poor. North Carolina illustrates this type of organization.

County superintendents of welfare, by whatever name known, usually are social workers. The majority of these workers are women, but in two or three states men occasionally are employed. These workers generally are given no direct authority but are the agents of the county officials or boards of officials. The superintendent (or secretary, or agent), however, frequently becomes the person who actually deals with the problems of children, and determines to a large extent what is done for them. Authority often is delegated to her by the responsible official, or her status is otherwise made such that she performs practically all the functions of a local unit of child care. This is apt to be true under any form of administration when a qualified social worker is employed.

*Juvenile Courts*¹

One of the earliest forms of specialized local units of child welfare was the juvenile court. Immediately following the organization of the Chicago Juvenile Court in 1899,

¹ See *The Delinquent Child*. A Publication of the White House Conference. New York, The Century Co. 1932.

many states passed similar juvenile court laws. In many instances juvenile courts were at first established to serve only the large cities. It is significant to our study of local units that in no state were town juvenile courts organized or contemplated, nor in any instance was the state adopted as a suitable unit for their administration. The county was generally accepted as the most practicable territory for juvenile court administration, although in such differing states as Massachusetts and Iowa the judicial district was made the unit. In New Mexico the juvenile courts were made county courts, but it was provided that the district judge could be designated as juvenile court judge by the several counties in his judicial district. County-wide local courts with juvenile jurisdiction have now been authorized in Iowa, on account of the difficulty of reaching the district court in emergencies, but as yet they have been established in only a few counties.

Full responsibility was assigned to many of these courts, particularly in the middle west, for determining the dependency of children and planning for their care, in addition to their primary duty of dealing with children who were thought to be delinquent, or who were neglected and in need of legal protection. The majority of these same middle western states placed the administration of mothers' aid in the juvenile courts. The county or district juvenile court accordingly became the principal, and frequently the only active public unit of child care in these states.

County Children's Homes

County children's homes, such as those which are prevalent in Ohio, Connecticut and Indiana, give only one type of care and do not offer the differentiated case work service which is an important factor in any satisfactory local program of child care. These county homes have not rendered any unique service to children nor have they led the community to recognize the need of specialized treatment or to provide for it.

SCOPE OF SERVICE

The local public units described here are those which are covered by the following definition:

A local public unit of child welfare, to come within the scope of this study, must be an agency, bureau or department, by whatever name known, which is legally established, and supported in whole or in part by public appropriations. It may be organized under a mandatory or a permissive law which provides specifically for its establishment, or under some more general statute which permits it to function. It must be performing duties in relation to families and children for whose maintenance and protection the state or its subdivision is legally responsible. It must undertake case work service, including intake investigations and subsequent treatment in behalf of dependent, neglected, delinquent, physically handicapped, or mentally deficient or disturbed children. It may undertake other services, especially family service and relief.

It is the duty of government to provide for that care and protection of children which will overcome to the greatest extent possible the social and economic consequences of their handicaps.

Volunteer agencies should experiment, set standards, create public opinion, and assist in the sound development of public administration. The services of private agencies of approved standards may be utilized by the public agencies but should not be expected permanently to carry the main load.

Adequate provision for family service and relief is fundamental to a sound child welfare program. No public program of child care and protection is complete which does not include provision for:

Children who are:

Dependent

Neglected, abandoned or abused

Delinquent, truant or wayward
 Born out of wedlock
 Physically handicapped
 Mentally deficient or disturbed

The following types of service:

Service and relief to families
 Service and support for children outside their homes
 Supervisory service to children in their own homes
 Medical and psychiatric service, including hospital care
 if necessary
 Protective service for neglected and abused children and
 children born out of wedlock.

In the allocation of social and financial responsibilities for the care and protection of children as between the state and local units consideration should be given to the whole field in order to be sure that the program covers the field as completely as possible; that undue emphasis is not given one type of care to the exclusion of others; that the treatment to be accorded each child is determined by his needs; that the type of care is not determined by the source of support.

A complete program should include: (1) case work service to discover and inquire into the circumstances and difficulties of children and families who are in need of public care or protection, and to devise and carry through individualized treatment; (2) resources for the various types of treatment, the care or protection which will be most useful in each case; (3) public funds to meet the cost of both service and support.

Three major administrative questions emerge from a consideration of complete local programs for child care and of the present experiments in the various states in that direction.

What should be the relative responsibility of the state and the local unit in regard to service to, and support of, the various classes of handicapped children?

To what extent can case work service in behalf of these handicapped children with profit be combined with broader services to larger groups of children, or to services in the more generalized field of public welfare?

To what extent can a county or other local unit develop resources and meet the cost of all required types of case work treatment and in addition the cost of necessary social service?

Each state will answer these questions in the light of its own circumstances and traditions, but before arriving at answers it will be necessary to consider in detail the types of service to children for which some governmental agency should be made responsible.

Omitting the clearly judicial functions of a juvenile court, which is admittedly local, various types of service are set forth and the case working unit which is probably more desirable is indicated.

TYPES OF SERVICE	ADMINISTRATIVE AREA
1. Investigations of the needs and circumstances of each case	Local unit
2. Home relief and service	Local
3. Medical examinations	
General	Local
Specialized	Local in large centers of population; state, through clinics, in other territory.
Orthopedic,	
Expert tubercular, (and so forth)	
4. Care of the mentally handicapped	
Diagnosis and treatment at home	Local in large centers; state in other territory
5. Relief and supervision in own home	
To family	Local
To child (probation, parole, or other)	Local
6. Temporary care outside own home	
Schools for special education	State

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Special classes in public school . . .	Local
Boarding and institutional care . . .	Local
Hospitals (sanitoria, preventoria, and so forth)	Local, when available; nearby, if possible
Other types	Local
7. Long-time care of child outside his own home	
Custodial (mentally handicapped) . .	State
Correctional (in institutions) . . .	State
Permanent foster home care	State (probably)
8. Protection of children born out of wed- lock	
Prenatal care	Local
Care at birth	Local
Establishing paternity	Local
Supervision	Local

The County the Best Social Service Unit

The county is generally the most practicable unit for the administration of child care. The majority of the problems of handicapped children require study and treatment by an agency which is close at hand. To be effective, service must be immediately available in the neighborhood of the trouble. Only through such close at hand service as can be given by a county agency can an early discovery of the case be assured, with home treatment whenever possible, and the development of preventive measures.

The state welfare department, except perhaps in the smallest states, is too far removed to assume case work responsibility within the counties, or directly to influence conditions which are creating dependency or contributing to physical or mental disorders. The town or township, on the other hand, is usually too small a unit for social service administration. Expertness in the field of social service, as in any other field, is developed only by practice on a sufficiently large scale to permit familiarity with many types of care and an observation of comparative results. The number of cases to be dealt with in a town is comparatively small, and,

in addition, the basis of taxation is too limited to meet the necessary costs of adequate social service. In states having town administration a group of towns, or in states where counties are small in area and population, a group of counties possibly could be combined to form a practicable administrative unit.

The local unit, except perhaps in large cities would find it difficult to organize or support such types of service as, for example, institutions for delinquent or mentally deficient children, or orthopedic or mental hygiene clinics. Each unit has but a few children needing any one of these various types of care and must rely on the state to supply service which demands expensive specialized equipment and direction. Diagnostic services, however, should be made available locally wherever this is possible.

Practically all states take some responsibility and bear some of the costs for the care of handicapped children, but the functions which each state assumes vary greatly. Institutions for delinquent children and for the feeble-minded, however, are nearly always state supported.

In recent years the county has been advocated as the most practicable administrative area for general child care. A county unit should be provided with case work service and with facilities for case work treatment of handicapped children. The question as to whether temporary or permanent care is required should be determined primarily in the local unit. Case work responsibility should rest administratively with the county for all services to any child unless, after adequate case work treatment, it has been decided that for given reasons he requires specialized care that only the state can provide.

Children who need only temporary care should not be accepted for state care. There is danger that a local unit will take the easy course of turning children over to the state because the state will support them, rather than because the state alone can render the best service to these particular children. A local decision that a child is to be turned over to the state for free home placement, or for any other

type of care, therefore, should be subject to review by the state itself before the child is accepted; when a court is contemplating the commitment of a child to the state for any cause the state should be represented at the hearing.

There should be a clear cut division of responsibilities between the state and the county and a decision as to what service is to be rendered by each and whether the local worker, in rendering service, is acting as an agent of the state or the local officials. There also should be a clear agreement between the county and the state as to which is responsible for the support in each type of case, the allocation of costs never, of course, determining the form of treatment accorded to any child.

The local unit may depend on the state or upon private agencies of good standing for permanent free home placements or for other service. The child requiring permanent care away from his own home usually should be moved to a distance from the locality where his unfortunate circumstances are known. In many such cases wider choice in the selection of a home than a county usually affords is also necessary. The state should accept a child for this type of care only after it is proved that local resources can not preserve or reestablish the home.

A local board or superintendent should not be expected, even as a representative of a state board, to inspect the work of other local agencies. One agency entrusted with authority criticizing the work of other agencies in the same local field is almost certain to create friction.

The state should stimulate, encourage, educate, advise, and standardize the work of the local units, and carry other duties of a general nature. It should have the power to make rules and regulations governing the use of all state money paid locally, and should have authority to pass on the qualifications of county workers.

Local social workers in rural territory ordinarily should be general social case work practitioners, but the local worker should receive expert consultant service in the various specialized fields from the state.

Whether a county unit should be a unit of child welfare only, or should cover a broader public welfare field is a question which will need further study. Both types of organization are proving their usefulness. It seems entirely feasible for one administrative unit, if its staff of case workers is large enough, to undertake, within a given area, all duties which call for social service.

There is at present a deplorably widespread disposition to provide in a local unit only one paid social case worker, who is expected to undertake not only a wide variety of case work services to adults as well as to children, but also to develop various other forms of community activities. County services of different types, such as, for instance, recreational programs or correctional work, may be combined with those requiring social case work centered in one administrative unit; but, in this case, a staff with the different qualifications for the particularized service must be provided.

City and County Service

The question of the division of administration as between a county and a large city located within a county is a troublesome one. The data which have been gathered seem to indicate that either the city should organize an entirely separate unit of child care or that the city and county should be made coextensive under one administrative unit.

When one unit covers both city and county it is important that part of the staff should be assigned to work exclusively in the territory outside of the city limits. Experience has indicated that otherwise practically all the service is likely to be consumed by the city.

State and County Service

The organization of one agency within a locality to serve both the county and the state in all matters requiring social case work, seems desirable and practicable. The combination of local case work service with other duties of a state board, such as licensing and inspecting, presents difficulties,

however, which must be thoroughly considered before such a combination is determined upon, particularly when a limited staff or perhaps a single worker is expected to cover the field.

When a local unit undertakes work for two or more state departments, such as departments of welfare, correction, labor, commissions for crippled or blind, and so forth, direction and supervision by the state should be unified to the greatest possible extent. Only in this way may the relative time to be given to each type of work be determined and the local workers spared conflicting supervision and advice from several state sources. The requirement of separate reports from the local unit to the various state departments should be avoided so far as possible. Similar centralization is sometimes needed within a state department of welfare for the same reasons.

Case Work and Allied Services

School Attendance. Separate service in the fields of welfare, health, and education is generally desirable. It may, however, be expedient in some sections or states to utilize, either temporarily or permanently, the same service in the field of school attendance and child welfare, which present closely related social case work problems. Any prolonged or chronic absence from school has some social significance, and the discovery and analysis of the situation leading to the absence affords the greatest promise for preventive social treatment.

The combination of public welfare service with work in the field of school attendance is apt to be practicable in rural districts where two services with equal standards cannot be developed. This system has been adopted in North Carolina and Alabama, and has attracted wide attention. The experience of Alabama during the past two or three years is of special interest for two main reasons: First, withholding the school equalization funds by the State Department of Education from counties not employing a child welfare

superintendent immediately resulted in provision for such superintendents in practically every county. Second, since school funds were supplying part of the salaries of county workers a standard of educational preparation and of professional experience for these workers and a plan of certification based on further study were adopted. Thus an effective method already generally followed in the educational field, but as yet not accepted in the field of social service, was applied broadly to the appointment of social workers throughout the state.

If a common service is supplied to a welfare department and a department of education, both departments should share in the direction of the work. By so doing, each will develop, through a sense of participating in the program, a realization of its importance, and will be much more likely to recognize and to consider both the social and educational needs of children coming within the realm of interest.

Public Health Nursing. The combination of other social services with a nursing service is impracticable since training for public health nursing and training for social service are entirely dissimilar. The training for professional service in these two fields are so unlike that the combined responsibility may be carried successfully only by persons having first the qualifications for each form of service and then the full training which each field requires. Nevertheless, a disposition to employ a county nurse and then to expect her to do the social work of her territory has been found to be fairly prevalent. The nurse in a territory without organized social case work service necessarily must attempt to remedy some of the social conditions which she finds surrounding her patients, but, even were she a skilled social worker, she could not extend her social work to the community at large without seriously limiting her nursing service. The danger in such a situation is that where the nurse does some social work the community becomes complacent and assumes that she is doing all that is needed.

Both nursing and social service are needed in every local area, and the service first entering the field should make it

a part of its daily program to educate the community to the need for the other form of service also.

Work Certificates. A local unit may also serve a department of labor in issuing work certificates, as in North Carolina, and possibly in other ways. The department of labor should be stimulated to recognize the necessity of social case work consideration of children entering industry, both with reference to the economic needs of their families and the physical fitness of the children. In many localities sufficient attention has not been given to these matters. The most practicable way to introduce a consideration of the circumstances of each case in the issuance of work certificates, at least in the more rural areas, is to combine this task with the other social case work in the local administrative unit of welfare.

Parole Service. Parole from state institutions is a state function; nevertheless local units may undertake the supervision of paroled children upon request and under the direction of the state. Such supervision should be on a case work basis. Local investigation and knowledge of local conditions and influences are the only safe guides to the desirability of parole in given cases. The local welfare unit, at least, should be given an opportunity to investigate and to report before a parole is permitted, especially where return to an undesirable family or neighborhood is under consideration. A local worker may advantageously be designated to act as a parole officer for the supervision of paroled children within the area of the unit.

Limitation of Judicial Units

The welfare of needy children will be served best if the states will develop, as speedily as possible, local units to administer all forms of relief to needy children under the executive rather than the judicial branch of government, thus freeing the court of duties which do not pertain to matters requiring judicial determination. While juvenile courts theoretically have a probation service to make special investiga-

tions and to carry out and supervise treatment, only a limited number of courts are so equipped, and a negligible number have an adequate staff of social case workers. The court, by very reason of its judicial character, is likely to hear of a case only after an extreme situation has already developed, in other words, when the most promising period for preventive work has already passed.

The juvenile court generally should undertake work only in cases requiring compulsion or involving legal control or legal protection of children. Circumstances which have led many states to place upon the juvenile court various administrative duties, such as determining the dependency of children and the administration of mothers' aid, will tend to keep these functions in the court for some time to come, but this assignment of functions should be continued only until a county administrative unit of social welfare is established.

Relations of Public Departments

No program for the care of handicapped children can ignore the mutual interests and the equal importance of public departments of welfare, education, and health. North Carolina and Alabama have shown how the responsibilities of welfare and education may be associated, and in North Carolina the county health officer is medical inspector of the schools so that the department of health also becomes closely associated with the other two agencies. All three departments are on a county basis which makes their association simple.

Every county or locality should have departments of welfare, education, and health. The three should serve the same political unit and should be so related and their work so integrated that the full service of each will be available for all handicapped children. Any one of these departments should undertake service falling in the province of the others only as a temporary expedient and it should then encourage an early organization of the other specialized services.

Unpaid Administrative Boards

The most promising form of organization for child care and protection is a county welfare board with administrative authority. The board should be large enough to insure group judgment, but small enough to be a manageable unit, probably with a membership of five or seven. The members should serve without salary and should be appointed for overlapping terms.

To this board should be entrusted the direct administration of an inclusive program of child care, with authority to expend the public funds appropriated for that purpose. It should appoint an executive and staff whose qualifications should be fixed by the state welfare department. The board should be responsible for discovering the circumstances of all children thought to be in need, and for determining and securing the form of oversight, support or protection best suited to overcome their individual difficulties.

A board of citizens can create local interest and awaken public opinion; it lessens the chances of political domination and political bias, influences the adoption and maintenance of good case work standards, and can marshal public opinion which will determine the grade of service and the type of workers which the community is to have. A local board can interpret to the community the need of social work and its methods and standards, it can educate public opinion, study local conditions and compare local methods with those effective elsewhere.

In the various states county board members are variously appointed by a governor, a state commissioner of welfare, a county judge, or by county boards of commissioners or supervisors. If the duties of the county board are mainly those for which the county is the responsible unit, then the appointment should be made by some county authority. On the other hand, if the duties are to be delegated to it by the state board or department, they should be appointed by a state authority. If one local board is to operate for both county and state then some equitable form of joint appoint-

ment should be adopted. If the county board is appointed by and represents the state department, its functions should be defined on that basis. If the county superintendent is appointed to do county work, his duties should be defined with equal clearness. One board or one superintendent may serve both the state and the locality, but the responsibilities should be fixed definitely, and the dual nature of the work recognized. Where county boards and county superintendents of welfare are to work in the same territory, careful consideration is necessary as to their functions and their relationships. Generally the superintendent should be appointed by the board which carries the administrative authority.

The administration of child care, no less than that of the public schools, must be removed from the uncertainties of shifting political influences. The form of welfare organization suggested would parallel development in the field of education. As boards of education now very generally define school needs, policies and programs, and administer school funds, so should welfare boards similarly define social welfare needs, policies and programs, and administer welfare funds.

Professional Service

It is desirable that case work service should be performed by qualified social case workers. The initial investigation, diagnosis of the difficulty, prescription and supervision of treatment requires special skill and training. Volunteer service, under pressure of necessity, has initiated case work in many counties, generally with but the limited guidance an understaffed state department can give.

Board members and other volunteers should be used sparingly in social case work for children, except under the direction and close supervision of qualified social case workers. As rapidly as possible local units should employ persons qualified by training and experience to handle the problems, volunteers thereafter acting under direct and constant supervision.

The employment of social workers involves several questions which should be taken into consideration:

A practical and effective system for the selection of personnel on the basis of fitness, education and previous experience and without political bias

The relative advantages and disadvantages of appointing a local person or one from outside the community

The possibility of utilizing training courses at schools of social work, and of encouraging the establishment of institutes which workers may attend in order to secure training which they have not previously had, or to improve their case work technique and skill in social work

The educational value of frequent contacts between workers doing similar work in the various units within one state.

The success of a local program for child care will depend almost wholly on the personal and professional qualifications of the staff. Certain personal traits are essential and also a natural aptitude for social service. However, such qualifications, without training in modern methods of child care or experience in an agency where such service is practiced, give but limited returns in social betterment of the community.

Insufficient appropriations for salaries and aid, the limited number of social workers interested in, and adapted to, rural social work, and the hesitancy of social workers to enter public service, have added to the difficulty of securing adequate service in the local units of the different states. California and Alabama have taken the most definite steps to define and control the qualification of social workers. In the former a state law has been proposed to require them to be certified as are teachers, whether they are to practice in the field of private or of public social welfare.

Some features of a pending bill in Ohio are unique. As this bill would directly accomplish the purpose of securing both qualified and adequate service in the local units it is

herewith quoted as suggestive. The assumption that the situation at the end of ten years can be so definitely surmised as is indicated in the provisions of this bill, is provocative of discussion.

Section 9. Any county, in which the county commissioners have created a department of welfare and have employed a full-time director of welfare in the manner provided by this act, shall be entitled to state aid toward the salaries of the director of welfare and of two full-time social workers employed in the department, at least one of whom shall specialize in child welfare work; provided that such persons possess the qualifications prescribed for such positions by the state department of public welfare and that the county department of welfare shall have met the standards set up by the state department for county welfare departments and faithfully have performed its duties as agent of the state department as provided in this act. The amount of such aid shall be as follows:

a. For each of the first ten years during which a department of welfare is maintained in the county, one-half the salary of the director, but not to exceed \$2,000, and one-half of the salaries of the two social workers, but not to exceed \$1,000 each.

b. For the eleventh year of the existence of such a department, four-tenths of the salaries of the director and social workers, but not exceeding \$1,600 and \$800 each, respectively; for the twelfth year, three-tenths of such salaries, but not exceeding \$1,200 and \$600 each, respectively; for the thirteenth year, two-tenths of such salaries, but not exceeding \$800 and \$400 each, respectively; for the fourteenth year, one-tenth of such salaries, but not exceeding \$400 and \$200 each, respectively; and thereafter the payment of state aid shall cease.

Semi-annually as of June 30th and December 31st in each year, the county auditor of each county which is entitled to state aid in accordance with this section shall certify to the state department of public welfare the amount expended during the preceding six months for the salaries of the director of welfare and two full-time social workers employed within the department. If upon examination the state department of public welfare finds that the county is entitled to state aid, it shall determine the amount due and draw its voucher for such sum in favor of the general fund of the county.

Where civil service controls appointments the professional aspects of the work should be recognized and the type of examinations should be adapted thereto. The state department of welfare or the statutes themselves should fix a minimum qualification for county welfare workers, which should be uniform throughout the state.

Demand for the employment exclusively of residents of the state or even of the particular county seriously limits the quality of service in many localities. Some states have sought the best possible talent anywhere available, on the assumption that states and counties should as readily employ a non-resident social engineer to build up a social service for the protection of children, as a non-resident civil engineer to build bridges and roads. Intimate knowledge of a locality is useful in some ways, but prejudice and traditions frequently prove a handicap to even a well qualified worker in her home territory. A non-resident appointee can make a more unbiased approach to the social problems of the locality, since she can ignore local factions and prejudices and soon acquires knowledge of local resources.

How to secure a sufficient number of qualified workers, particularly in local units, is a problem everywhere, and therefore the recent experiment in Alabama in establishing educational requirements with a plan for certification based on further study and a plan for close and competent state supervision is of great interest.

Case Loads in Rural Areas

It is obvious in comparing the case load of rural social workers with the case loads of employees of private city agencies with acceptable standards, that the rural workers, whose territories present much more difficult conditions and whose calls are from wider areas, are carrying much heavier case loads. The responsibilities put upon the rural workers are also much more diverse, and because of lack of nearby resources, much more difficult than those borne by the city workers. In the nature of public administration, service can

not be arbitrarily limited but must be available equally to all who need it. More workers are needed in practically every local unit studied.

Relationship of Private and Public Agencies

While the responsibility of seeing that all children are properly cared for should rest on the state or local governmental unit the facilities of all private child caring agencies conforming to a satisfactory standard should be utilized. Such agencies should be encouraged to develop in ways which will fit their work into the whole program of child care, and to modify their programs when necessary to meet shifting conditions.

Private organizations can render excellent service in promoting the establishment of public units of child care and in influencing the public to adopt and maintain acceptable standards. Any disposition on the part of private agencies, however, to supplant or to take the place of local public units is to be discouraged. Private agencies under some form of mutual agreement sometimes assist public units in establishing the work, often contributing funds for this purpose, as has been done by the American Red Cross in Minnesota, New Mexico and elsewhere, and by the State Charities Aid Association in New York. Or, as in Iowa and in Monmouth County, New Jersey, the private organization may encourage the appointment of its chief executive as a public administrative officer in the welfare field. Public officials have employed a private agency on occasion to assist in the administration of child caring work. Such arrangements generally should be temporary rather than permanent. Private agencies should experiment and demonstrate in the administrative field only with the aim of encouraging an improved administration by the local public units of child care.

Need of Family Relief

One of the most far-reaching deficiencies in child welfare programs is the ineffective administration of public out-

door relief. Experience indicates that adequate home relief should be more generally available; both family and child care require it. Unless such help is available, it is inevitable that children will be separated needlessly from their own people or will be left in a state of want. Relief to all families in which there are children should be at least as adequate as that which has been developed under the best of the special mothers' aid laws in the various localities. Relief to mothers under these laws is inadequate in the majority of states. When comparison is made between mothers' aid and the general public outdoor relief in the same territories, however, it is found that the widows have fared far better than have families who were not eligible under the narrow limitations of the majority of mothers' aid laws. If family relief and child care were to be placed under the same administrative unit, home care would more speedily become the usual form of treatment accorded handicapped children.

The Dependent and Neglected

The discovery and, when necessary, the support of neglected and dependent children should be recognized as a major public responsibility. Local programs of child care very generally lack definite provision for the early discovery of children who come within these two classifications, even in states in which various other forms of excellent specialized care of children are well developed. No direct obligation usually is placed upon any local unit or local official to find the neglected or abused child or to investigate alleged abuse. No funds are available for the support of the neglected or of the dependent child who must be cared for temporarily outside his home. In some of the states reliance is placed upon private agencies for the support of such children, although these agencies may cover only city territory.

The most shocking forms of neglect and abuse are found in rural, isolated spots in all the states. The protection of children is preeminently a public responsibility and should be made a function of local child caring units, which should be provided with facilities to handle such problems.

COSTS

The cost of a local child welfare unit necessarily varies widely. The simplest program requires a juvenile court and an administrative board or welfare officer, clerical service and at least one social case worker for a small unit and a larger staff for the larger or more populous units.¹ An automobile for each field worker, with resources to meet traveling and office expenses are essential. One worker in a county, even where the population is less than ten thousand, can seldom do all that the welfare of handicapped children requires.

State Aid

An equitable distribution of costs between state and county is desirable. Experience has shown that even a small contribution from the state has stimulated county appropriations for local units. More and more emphasis is being placed on state aid for service rather than state aid for support. By this means, the state can more directly influence the quality of service and make sure that due emphasis is given to preventive and constructive treatment. When state aid is to extend into the field of support its first concern should be to assist in preventive measures by helping counties to aid children in their own homes. This principle has been applied to mothers' aid in a number of the states. Administrative responsibility may be local even if the costs are to be shared by the state, as is the case in the administration of schools, and the allocation of this responsibility as between state and local units should be arrived at solely from the viewpoint of effective service to the children to be served.

In prosperous territories where counties are well settled, the county probably can tax itself for the cost both of services to, and support of, needy children. With relatively few

¹ C.-E. A. Winslow, Ph.D., Professor of Public Health at Yale School of Medicine, in speaking of rural territory in an article appearing in the *Survey Graphic* in March, 1931, said: "It seems probable that a ratio of at least one (social) case worker to 10,000 people might be fixed as a minimum."

exceptions the town or township is too small an area for such taxation. There is a wide difference, however, in the taxable wealth of counties in the United States, even within a single state.

The poorest county is apt to stand most in need of service. Alabama and New Mexico are among the states which have subsidized the local units of service without reference, however, to their relative wealth. A sound basis for giving state funds would be a sliding scale in inverse proportion to the taxable resources of the counties.

The state or county unit contracting the bills usually should make the payments. One unit should not contract bills for the care of children, which must be paid by the other. It seems better for a state to contribute towards the cost of a local service and the support of children by the county, than to itself assume responsibility for the custody and support of individual dependent and neglected children, especially if the costs are to be charged back to the locality.

A number of states have shared the cost of mothers' aid with local units. A recent law passed in New York State establishing special relief to the aged provides for the state to pay one-half the cost of relief and also one-half the salary and one-half the traveling expenses of any person employed by the county public official to assist in administering the act. The principle that the state should pay part of the cost of service as well as of support is recommended for study as to its applicability to local child caring programs.

Subsidies to Private Agencies. A number of state legislatures make appropriations to private child caring agencies and institutions which receive children from local child caring units. These subsidies usually are lump sum appropriations.

It would be wise for each state to make a study of funds so appropriated, and the amount of taxes paid for this purpose by each local unit so that it would be able to determine the services rendered to each unit of taxation by the subsidized agencies, their costs, and the relation of the service rendered to the needs of child care in each unit. The

more or less routine reappropriation of these funds year by year without regard to the quality of service rendered, often deters the development of flexible and adequate public state or local child caring programs, particularly those of a preventive nature. It is possible that a redistribution of such funds by the state might be of great service to handicapped children.

Federal Aid

Federal as well as state funds might with propriety be considered to help pay the cost of approved forms of social service in county or local units willing to meet their share of the expense. The granting of federal and state funds to help meet the cost of child welfare service in the rural field would mean extending a method which has already proved effective in the fields of public health, education, and agricultural leadership. Following these precedents still further, a plan also might be considered whereby state and federal monies might contribute to the specialized education of social workers for service in local units of welfare in some such way, for instance, as numbers of farm and home demonstrators are now trained for their particular duties in schools supported in whole or in part by the state and the nation.

Aid from Private Foundations

In the field of public health, a far-reaching private foundation has done much to stimulate the organization of county units of public health. No better outlet for charitable impulse could be found, than a similar provision for the stimulation of local units of child welfare.

ORGANIZATION IN INDIVIDUAL STATES

Substantial progress is evident in many of the states in the development of local units of child welfare. Each state's experience presents features which have proved fruitful or are promising in results. No state claims that its welfare

program as yet reaches all the handicapped children who should be cared for in its counties. State welfare departments show a general appreciation of the problem in its many phases and a desire for more inclusive and effective child welfare administration both on a state and county basis.

Certain features of local units in several states are presented here to illustrate different aspects of the subject.

Alabama

Alabama is the only state which actually has child welfare units with paid service in practically every county. A permissive law provides for county child welfare units to serve jointly the education and welfare fields and the juvenile courts.

The state departments of child welfare and education are jointly responsible for the work of county units and for establishing the qualifications of county superintendents of welfare.

A contribution is made from state funds to the cost of county units and \$2,000 of the school attendance funds are withheld from any county having no child welfare superintendent to act as attendance officer. This latter step resulted in the immediate provision of a child welfare superintendent in nearly every county. Unpaid county boards to administer county work are appointed locally on recommendation of the State Department of Child Welfare.

Owing to the almost simultaneous development of more than sixty local units, it was not possible to secure fully trained social case workers in all instances, but to meet this situation high educational requirements were adopted for county superintendents of welfare, with provisional and permanent certification based on required further study of social case work. Residents or non-residents of the state are appointed as county superintendents according to relative merit. Supervision of local units is given by competent and experienced persons on the staff of the state child wel-

fare department, selected at large for their fitness for the work.

Theoretically, the county board of child welfare can care for dependent, neglected, delinquent, and handicapped children. So far, however, they have been able to do so only to a limited extent. School attendance service is a major duty, as school funds meet at least half the cost of the work. The state department of child welfare believes that a minimum of 3 workers in each county is essential and is working to that end. Four counties now have 3 workers and 5 counties have 2, while the others have one each.

There is no public outdoor relief or mothers' aid in Alabama, nor are local public funds provided for the support of children outside their homes. This is the most serious drawback in proper provision for the various groups of handicapped children. The county worker usually must secure relief from private sources unless a child is to be turned over to the state for care. While she is doing this, or if she fails to secure it, the dependent or neglected child remains in a state of want, although the need may be urgent. State supervisors review the circumstances of each child before the state accepts it for care. Thus promiscuous commitments of children to the state as the easiest or the cheapest solution of the difficulty are prevented.

Work for Negroes lags far behind that for white persons throughout the state.

It is notable that this extensive development, with state and county appropriations to meet its cost, has taken place in a state ranking as one of the least wealthy in the United States. The program has been developed not out of surplus wealth, but to create sources of future wealth by relieving the state of the constant drain upon it by conditions of illiteracy and dependency.

California

The division of children's work of the California Department of Social Welfare administers aid to needy or-

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phans, half orphans, illegitimate and abandoned children, foundlings and children of incapacitated fathers, and also has duties in relation to dependent children in institutions, day nurseries, adoptions, children in boarding homes, state training schools and juvenile probation. The department has established three district offices beside the one at the state capital in order to be closer to the problems with which it deals.

The department also has a Division of County Relations, one of whose main functions is to encourage the development of county public welfare departments with trained personnel. The county welfare department has a board composed of five laymen and two officials as a consultant. Twenty-four counties, representing 80 per cent of the population of the state, now have county welfare departments, and in twenty-two of the remaining thirty-four counties the boards of supervisors have appointed *lay commissioners*, who are social workers, to administer relief.

The state department legally can delegate such of its authority as it may deem best to an approved and accredited inspection service of a county health or social service department. As county welfare departments develop, the state uses them in this way.

California is one of the states in which a state department of social welfare is assigned the duty of supervising probation in the counties.

Georgia

Georgia with its 161 counties, most of which have a very low tax valuation and scant population, and its constitutional provision which so far has been interpreted as prohibiting the use of state funds for any form of home relief, is faced with great difficulties in developing its program of child care. Nevertheless the State Board of Welfare has taken advantage of every opportunity to stimulate and assist the different counties to establish or develop whatever agency seems most likely to give aid to children.

Like New York and New Mexico Georgia has begun its county welfare program by developing the resources of each county individually rather than by trying to adopt a state-wide program through new legislation. Eighteen of the 161 counties have some form of organized social work with at least one full-time worker. Twelve additional counties do some variety of work with a part-time worker, and 29 others have an organized group which carries on limited activities. The remaining 105 counties have no service or organized interest. The majority of workers are called probation officers.

No uniformity of organization or of function has been possible. One county, in which there is a large city, has a family welfare organization and a visiting teacher; another has only a much respected old resident who renders some of the more obvious services; another has a kindly ex-policeman as probation officer, his work being largely limited to the courts; in still another a local minister works on part time, his wife doing the major share of the work.

The most satisfactorily organized county has a county welfare society with a board of five appointed by the county commissioners. A trained social worker for the county, whose duties include family welfare, probation, and school attendance, is appointed by the judge of the superior court with the approval of the county welfare society. The Department of Education pays \$3 a day for each day on which any service is rendered in relation to school attendance. No case came to the juvenile court in this county in the last year. Each case headed toward the court was handled as a family problem without a court hearing.

The state department is using one member of its meagre staff to demonstrate genuine social work for children in a selected area, and has made favorable contacts in certain counties by conducting a study of all families receiving poor relief. Such studies have materially helped local committees to recognize social problems and possible forms of treatment.

These movements, which have reached more than half

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of the counties, should in time influence legislation and perhaps even bring about constitutional amendments which will make a more direct program for local child welfare possible through the amalgamation of counties at least for welfare purposes.

Iowa

Iowa has a unique plan of public welfare. A private family welfare agency cooperates in the administration of public social service and the extension division of the state university promotes county units. Effective family social case work is found in the organized counties of Iowa, but there are almost overwhelming handicaps to the development of a state and county child welfare program.

A county family welfare league, with a paid executive selected on the basis of training and experience, reaches in certain counties the primary point of attack in the child welfare field, the care of the child in his own home. Executives of the county leagues are also overseers of the poor, and thus introduce the most acceptable standards of case work into public administration. This relatively high grade of family welfare administration is helping materially to prevent child dependency. In practice the county supervisors still determine, or at least must consent to the relief to be given from public funds.

A state university, a state children's bureau, and two state institutions for dependent children, each interested in different phases of public child welfare, produce a confusion of responsibility in Iowa. Within the counties the responsibility is divided between county supervisors, county overseers of the poor, township trustees, and juvenile courts. The latter are technically county courts, but since their presiding judges are the judges of district courts, and the judge is not immediately available within a given county, they are in effect district courts. Juvenile courts must pass upon dependency and mothers' aid cases, as well as those of delinquency and alleged neglect. There is no centralized responsibility for child care either in the state or the county, and so far

the county units of Iowa have barely touched upon child care.

The state schools receive dependent children committed by juvenile courts for state support and placement in foster homes. The lack of local provision for the support of dependent children, except in specially organized counties where social workers are developing boarding homes, makes inevitable commitments to the state schools and hence permanent separation of children from their relatives.

The state board of control, of which the children's bureau is a part, exercises no leadership in the organization of county units of welfare and has little contact with them. Thus the system in Iowa is in direct contrast with that in the majority of states studied, where the state departments of welfare are the stimulating and supervising agencies.

The accomplishments of county family welfare leagues have led several counties to appoint trained social welfare workers as overseers of the poor without the formation of social service leagues, but, as a rule, with the backing of interested citizens. The interest of county groups of citizens in the public administration of family relief in a number of counties is a splendid preparation for a state-wide movement for a coordinated and adequately supported state and county system of child welfare.

Kentucky

Kentucky, although authorized by law to establish county units of child care, has made no general progress in that direction. In Jefferson County in which the city of Louisville is located, however, there is one local unit of child welfare which is outstanding because of its wide range of service to all children in need and also because it employs a reasonably adequate and well trained staff of social workers.

A privately conducted city institution for delinquent and dependent boys and girls, white and colored, and a county parental home, administered by a board appointed by the county judge, for the care of dependent and neglected white children, were consolidated, in 1920, under the name of the

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Louisville and Jefferson County Children's Home, with a board of managers appointed jointly by the mayor of the city and the county judge. In 1926 the detention home was placed under the same management. The board of this home was authorized to place a child "in his or her own home or in a free or boarding home," and, the law continued: "such board shall have the right and authority to pay the person or persons in whose care any such child may be paroled, such a sum as it deems sufficient in its discretion for the proper maintenance and support of such child."

The Louisville and Jefferson County Children's Home serves the city and the county, and is supported jointly by them. The unit shows a successful working out of child welfare administration as between a county and a relatively large city therein; although the approximately even division of costs between the two appears to be determined on the basis of appropriations to the former agencies prior to the consolidation, rather than to have been arrived at by any well defined and equitable principles of relative wealth or the respective amounts of service required by the city and the county. Politics has played no part in administration or in the selecting of personnel. The home employs a staff of 150 persons, selected on the basis of training and experience.

The work of the juvenile court and of the children's home is thoroughly coordinated, so that although they are two independent governmental units, they operate as part of one inclusive program. The board is authorized to receive dependent, neglected, and delinquent children committed to it by the juvenile court or brought in on its own initiative. The juvenile court does not continue to exercise jurisdiction, the board having full administrative authority and responsibility for the child's welfare after the child is received. The board also has full power coordinate with probation officers to make investigations in cases of alleged abuse of children, but so far has not exercised that authority. The budget of the board provides home relief, boarding care, institutional care, or whatever form of treatment is

necessary. The board conducts two cottage plan institutions, one for white and one for colored children, ten miles from the city. It provides hospital and school facilities, and has its own home economics and vocational buildings.

All children needing care are taken, on commitment, into a receiving home in Louisville. A study of each child determines whether mother's aid, boarding care, or institutional care is the form of treatment best suited to his needs. The turnover in the detention home is rapid. The daily population varies from 20 to 100, with a total of 1,800 children a year. The same type of care is given to colored and to white children, and the home employs colored workers to deal with colored children.

There is no state department of welfare in Kentucky. A state children's bureau was established in 1928 to stimulate county units of child care, but so far the results have been meagre.

Minnesota

Minnesota claims to have "centralized authority combined with decentralized administration" in child welfare. So far it has not fully accomplished either, but its county units are interesting.

The designation by the state children's bureau of county boards of child welfare depends upon the willingness of the board of county commissioners to have them appointed. County boards consist of three citizens selected by the state children's bureau and of two ex-officio local officials, the superintendent of schools and a county commissioner. These boards represent the state in the performance of its duties within the county, but they may also assist the county juvenile courts and the boards of county commissioners in child and family welfare fields.

Minnesota is using volunteer board members in the case work field more extensively than any other state. The state children's bureau is urging the employment by these boards of social workers as secretaries.

When public appropriation or private funds or a com-

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bination of the two become available the county board may employ a social worker as secretary to assist in the performance of state or county duties.

State responsibility is divided between a children's bureau with many general and specialized powers and a state school for children who are to be placed in foster homes, the two having no coordinated service. The state children's bureau has been given considerable case work responsibility and the actual guardianship of children, with no state appropriation to pay for the support of its wards.

Juvenile courts have jurisdiction over mothers' aid which entirely separates the administration of this form of treatment from other types of child care, particularly in the larger counties where the county boards and the courts have separate staffs of social workers.

Minnesota has gone far in the consideration of children of unmarried mothers through laws requiring a prompt report of their birth to the state children's bureau, and providing for the establishment of paternity and payments for their support. Large sums are collected and disbursed by the state for the support of children born out of wedlock. A considerable part of the time devoted to case work consideration of needy children by the staffs of the state children's bureau and of all the county boards is given to this one phase of child welfare, which indicates inadequate provision for the care of the vastly larger numbers of dependent, neglected, and otherwise handicapped children throughout the state. The legalistic determination of paternity and securing legal orders for support frequently is given more emphasis than social planning for the welfare of mother and baby, or for continued case work in their behalf.

Juvenile court protection and case work consideration of boys and girls under seventeen sometimes is made subservient to criminal prosecution in cases liable under a carnal knowledge statute. This law offers excellent opportunity for the protection of young girls, but only when it is used as one of many possible case work tools.

The state school is a unit entirely independent of the

children's bureau. It receives children for permanent placement in foster homes and for state support pending placement. In view of the unwillingness of county commissioners to pay for the support of children, this system inevitably results in the alternatives of permanent separation of children from their parents or lack of suitable care for them. Only in the group of families eligible for mothers' aid is this danger avoided.

The state school has the privilege of declining to accept children. Its decision is based more frequently on the eligibility of the child than upon other possible plans for its welfare. The state children's bureau, on the other hand, has no such privilege in regard to children committed to it, although it has not as yet been provided with state funds for the support of such children.

The county boards are advisory rather than administrative. They or their secretaries determine which children require care and what type of care or support they should be given. When, however, local public expense is incurred, the decision must be made by the county commissioners or the juvenile court.

Minnesota county units were first developed during the World War and immediately thereafter, when trained social workers were at a premium, and only a few such workers were at first employed as secretaries of county boards of child welfare. War time American Red Cross workers, nurses, and others without specific social work training or experience were designated, frequently being paid in part or even wholly by private funds. The state children's bureau has been urging the employment of trained personnel as vacancies occur and new counties are organized. The number of persons not trained in social case work who are still employed has tended to limit the development of child welfare in certain counties.

Minnesota lacks a practicable method for the local consideration of the alleged need of any child, and decision as to treatment, uninfluenced by a consideration of which unit of taxation must pay. It also illustrates the difficulties of a

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state department, with a limited staff and without the necessary funds, which is attempting to carry case work responsibilities throughout an immense territory.

New Mexico

New Mexico has developed several local units with the county or the judicial district as the unit of service, although it has no special law providing for these. The nature of these activities varies according to the needs of the local situation and the interests of the agencies which financially support the work.

In one unit the juvenile court meets the expenses. In another the public school system of a city meets half the expenses. In two county units some twenty public and private agencies have combined to support trained service, the state also contributing, since the local workers relieve the state children's bureau of certain duties in these districts.

The local agencies in one county which unite in this way are as follows:

Active

Board of County Commissioners; Board of Trustees of the Town Gallup; District Court; State Bureau of Child Welfare; American Red Cross Chapter; American Legion; American Legion Auxiliary; Kiwanis; Lions; Rotary; Woman's Club; Parent Teacher Association; Catholic Church; Baptist Church; Congregational Church; Episcopal Church; Methodist Church.

Associate

Masons; Elks.

The State Bureau of Child Welfare has adopted rigid qualifications for those appointed to do children's work both on its own staff and in the local units. The state law provides that the director of the bureau "shall be a woman of experience and special training in child welfare work." The standard qualifications set by the bureau for the six state workers

who supervise the work in local units and represent the state in other territory include a college education, special training in a school of social work or a university which provides instruction and field experience in social case work, and at least four years' experience in a recognized social service agency of good standards. Several years of additional practical experience are required for other members of the state staff.

New York

New York was a pioneer in the field of rural public child welfare. It definitely provides for the support from public funds of dependent, neglected, and all other types of handicapped children. It does not as yet, however, except in a single county, present a completely centralized county program for child care.

A county commissioner of public welfare is usually directly responsible for seeing that dependent, neglected, and handicapped children are cared for. A county board of child welfare administers aid to widows in their own homes and other specified groups of mothers with young children. A county juvenile court exercises jurisdiction only in delinquency and neglect cases. Town welfare officers generally administer outdoor relief.

The counties and towns of the state long have been in the habit of paying for the support of needy children, so that money for that purpose usually is available. Such public support for many years was available chiefly for institutional care, but, with the development of county field service, other types of treatment also are developing.

Many children have been needlessly separated from their homes for long periods of time because of the utter inadequacy of outdoor relief and the existence of numerous privately managed children's institutions willing to receive children with a *per diem* payment from public funds. Limited follow-up service in the counties has resulted in prolonged institutional life, frequently at a distance from their homes, for many children.

Voluntary children's committees stimulated by a state-wide voluntary organization, the State Charities Aid Association, have materially altered both the methods and the standards of child care, and were an influential factor in securing a state wide juvenile court act, and later a modern public welfare law to supersede an archaic poor law with but negative provisions for child care. These citizen committees have influenced county appropriations to support a field service to children in connection with the county commissioner of public welfare, the county juvenile court, or the board of child welfare or all three. The committees have influenced the appointment of trained and experienced social case workers to make investigations and to help plan for and carry out treatment. Pressure resulting in the appointment of untrained local persons or of adding the welfare duties to those of a public health nurse frequently, however, has limited the service to children in specified counties. Practically everywhere in the state, the number of workers employed is inadequate.

The new public welfare law, effective January 1, 1930, permits the transfer of outdoor relief administration from the town to the county public welfare officers. In several counties which have adopted this provision, a single county official may now determine and authorize any type of care, except the administration of mother's aid, for any handicapped child.

Further centralization has been effected in several counties by transferring the powers and duties of the county welfare officer to a board of child welfare; but only in Dutchess County does a county board of child welfare have full and exclusive responsibility for the welfare of all children, for mothers' aid, and for all other types of child care, including public home relief in families where there are children.

The New York public welfare law is direct and specific in placing responsibility on public funds for the well being of all types of handicapped children, and in naming the various forms of treatment which should be available.

A private state-wide agency and its county committees, working with the state and county official agencies to improve public administration and to influence welfare legislation and appropriations, is a unique feature of the New York situation.

North Carolina

North Carolina has county public welfare units which include child welfare. Several features of the North Carolina system command attention.

County boards are appointed by the State Department of Welfare to assist it in its tasks within the county, while a county superintendent of welfare is appointed jointly by the county boards of commissioners and of education to undertake tasks for which the county itself is responsible.

The superintendent of welfare is chief school attendance officer, chief probation officer for the children's court, investigator for the county commissioners in relief cases, and has numerous other duties.

County boards and county superintendents of welfare are required by law. The county superintendent of schools must act as county superintendent of public welfare in counties with a population of less than 32,000, where the county boards do not wish to elect a superintendent of welfare. Fifty of the 100 counties have superintendents other than superintendents of schools, although their appointment was mandatory in but 29 counties by the 1920 Census. The 1930 Census increases the number of such counties to 37.

The state constitution makes it impossible for either the county board or the superintendent of welfare directly to administer relief of any type. The county commissioners administer all relief funds including mothers' aid. The state contributes to the latter, however, and the state board of charities and public welfare approves cases for which state funds are to be paid.

In North Carolina, as in all the states studied, an insufficient staff makes it impossible to reach all children in need of care or protection. Generally there is a single worker in

each county, who has often had little or no case work training. The great multiplicity of duties extended broadly over the public welfare projects makes it particularly difficult in this state for a single worker adequately to cover a county.

An almost universal tendency toward the appointment of local county residents as superintendents of welfare has militated against the selection of qualified social case workers. The state department, in cooperation with the state university, has organized training courses which are attended by the majority of superintendents. Nevertheless, both the state board and university realize the inadequacy of such piecemeal training. There is an increasing number of trained superintendents employed and with the school of social work of the state university constantly turning out graduates, it is hoped that all the counties will be led to appoint persons on the basis of definite training for the work to be undertaken.

The North Carolina laws permit any type of treatment to be given to any handicapped child. Lack of an adequate staff and specific appropriations for the support of such children, however, very generally limits the number cared for, particularly in the dependent and neglected groups.

Notable beginnings have been made in organized county work for Negro children, with a capable Negro on the staff of the state department of welfare to promote it.

North Dakota

The North Dakota Bureau of Child Welfare is earnestly working to develop local units of child welfare in the six judicial districts of the state. The state department is bringing together the private agencies, such as the children's home and aid society and all other possible resources both public and private for this purpose.

There are three districts with full time, salaried workers. One judicial district has been organized with one worker, called a *juvenile commissioner*, whose territory covers eight counties totaling 8,866 square miles. The first judicial dis-

tract has two salaried workers on full time. There are seven counties in the first judicial district with an area of 7,976 square miles. Four of the thirteen counties in the sixth judicial district are organized under a full-time salaried officer. The area in these four counties is 5,458 square miles.

North Dakota illustrates the difficulties attending the organization of local units in the newer and sparsely populated states, which are geographically so extensive, and where public appropriations are meagre.

If the \$30,000 which the state now appropriates to four private child caring societies were transferred to its own state bureau of child welfare, it might be distributed on the basis of service rendered; or it is possible that it might become a means of furthering a well rounded program of child welfare instead of merely helping to meet the expenses of organizations giving single types of care to particular groups of children.

South Dakota

South Dakota has not as yet provided for a state department of welfare. It has had a Child Welfare Commission with a wide variety of specific administrative and supervisory duties but without a paid staff.¹

The unsalaried secretary of the commission has devoted full time to the work and by making contacts with district attorneys, judges, and others, has led such officers to consent to her collecting evidence in cases which have come to the knowledge of the state child welfare commission. The counties have paid for her time on this service, and also have met her expenses including traveling expenses from the state capitol to and from the different counties. On one occasion a county paid \$400 for two months' work. In this case the prosecution of one man developed evidence causing 10 criminal prosecutions, and involved the welfare of 11 girls, the confession and conviction of 10 men, and the issuing of warrants for 7 others who could not be located.

¹ The legislature of 1931 provided for a single salary for the secretary of the Commission.

The impossibility of one worker's giving supervision to children in as extensive a territory as the State of South Dakota is obvious, but this slight experience suggests the possibility of a state's furnishing wider child welfare service to sparsely settled counties for which the county could pay, in whole or in part.

Virginia

The welfare program of Virginia has been rapidly developing within recent years, following a code commission report in 1922. A comprehensive survey of all branches of the government of the state and its subdivisions was made in 1919 by an outside agency employed for the purpose by legislative authorization.

Virginia now has thirteen county welfare units with unpaid boards and paid superintendents of welfare. The law provided that county boards of welfare should be appointed from lists submitted by the state department of public welfare. As they had but little guidance and direction, very few of these boards which were first appointed were permanent or effective. The operation of the program of county units began to show results only when the state department of welfare became able to supply direct assistance in organization and could stimulate the employment of county superintendents of welfare.

As all cities in Virginia are complete governmental units and in no way dependent on the county, we find a clearer division of welfare responsibility between city and county than generally is apparent elsewhere.

Virginia presents an example of the danger of turning children over to the state for support instead of giving them other types of care for which the locality would have to pay. During the first year in which the law permitting juvenile courts to commit dependent and neglected as well as delinquent children to the State Board of Welfare was operative, over a thousand children were so committed. The state board had neither the personnel to look after, nor the money to support these children. A ruling of the

attorney general that the acceptance of dependent and neglected children by the state was optional, and an arrangement whereby the cost of those accepted was charged back to the county has helped to control what would otherwise have been an increasingly disastrous situation.

Virginia is unique in that delinquent children are committed not to a particular institution, but to the state department of welfare, the state paying for their support. A children's bureau takes charge of them and boards them in families while thorough physical and mental hygiene studies are made of each child. The result of this policy is interesting. Only 40 per cent of these children committed as delinquents finally are sent to reformatories. There is always an average of nearly two hundred in boarding homes under study.

The superior state facilities available to delinquents and the possibility of shifting the cost of care from the county to the state sometimes results in unnecessary commitment of children for state support. The state board hopes in time to send psychiatric service to the counties so that children remaining in the local units may be studied as those received by the state now are. It is obvious that, as such service is made available, fewer children will need to be classified even tentatively as delinquent, and possibly a large part of the 60 per cent now cared for in family homes by the state may be given local care and oversight without being transported to the state capital for such service.

In Virginia, as in other states in which extensive administrative powers have been fixed upon a state welfare department, larger appropriations are required to permit the department to function satisfactorily. With 2,356 children under twenty-one years of age as its wards, the children's bureau of the state department of public welfare reports that the whereabouts of a large number of them is unknown. The staff of the bureau is too small for the enormous tasks imposed upon it.

County boards of welfare and county superintendents of welfare, while locally appointed, must be selected from lists

prepared by the state welfare board. Virginia has adopted high qualifications for the staff of its welfare department and for county welfare superintendents.

The county juvenile court in Virginia is also a court of domestic relations. This combination tends to develop a social approach to all those family difficulties which find their way into court, and which affect children so keenly.

The Virginia county boards are given direct administrative authority but the problems of dependency are divided between them and the juvenile courts. The Virginia law gives direct administrative responsibility to county boards by providing for the county unit "to have the care and supervision of the poor and to administer the funds now administered by the overseers of the poor."

Virginia has an excellent mothers' aid law, which, due to lack of appropriations, has not been developed except in the city of Richmond and in one county. A state appropriation of \$100,000 to meet half the cost of the grants is being sought, in order to stimulate county appropriations for this purpose.

West Virginia

The law in West Virginia providing for the appointment of county welfare boards was permissive until 1929 when it was made mandatory. Twenty-seven of the fifty-five counties are said to be organized. Six of these employ paid welfare secretaries. Two additional counties employ local welfare secretaries without the assistance of county boards.

West Virginia is another of the states which has placed a large degree of responsibility for the care of individual children upon a state children's bureau. County units are organized largely to help carry the responsibilities of the state. The six to twelve members of the county welfare boards are appointed by the county courts, known in many states as county boards of supervisors, or county commissioners, from a list submitted by the state board of children's guardians. The president of the county court and the judge having juvenile jurisdiction are ex-officio members.

West Virginia has no state board of welfare but the governor recommended the establishment of one to the 1931 Legislature.¹ A state board of children's guardians accepts dependent and neglected children into guardianship and is expected to provide for them, largely in free foster homes. Thus permanent separation of children from their parents is apt to take the place of other measures which might preserve family unity.

Among the difficulties encountered in West Virginia are: an almost universal disposition by both state and counties to consider local residence the one supreme qualification for the professional staff; loading upon the state staff case work responsibilities for dependent and neglected children which are difficult to execute from a state headquarters, especially with the limited staff provided and without automobiles; and the relatively small appropriations made by the state for salaries, expenses, and the support of children accepted as wards. Such situations make difficult the development of effective county administrative units. The state board has determined hereafter to employ only persons of training and experience.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. There is an encouraging trend toward the adoption in public service of the best practices which have been developed in private child-caring organizations. Moreover these methods have in certain instances been developed by public agencies with notable success.

2. A well rounded local program of child care should make provision for: a state department of welfare and county units of welfare each with trained and skilled personnel; service to and also support for all types of children in need; a flexible program so that each child will receive the exact type of service or care which will overcome his particular difficulties to the greatest possible extent; a recognition that it is as much the duty of the welfare unit to seek out the

¹ A law creating such a board was enacted in 1931.

neglected, or otherwise handicapped child as to care for those brought to their attention.

3. While no one state has as yet fully attained these standards, relatively rapid progress has been made in their direction in the past decade. The best features suggested in this report are now found in one or more localities, while each locality is striving to overcome the difficulties which have been cited.

STATE ORGANIZATION FOR CHILD WELFARE

INTRODUCTION

THE state holds a strategic and unique position in any plan of attack upon the forces hostile to child well-being and hence to the well-being of the nation. The statements which follow deal with the question of state organization for child welfare work, from the different approaches necessary to present a comprehensive picture of the subject. There are some phases of the subject which can well be emphasized before taking up the details.

When the Federal Children's Bureau was established in 1912, partly as the result of the first White House Conference, the view that the problems of the child should be approached in their entirety had already developed. Although the bureau was created as a research agency for supplying the information on which sound development in the states might be based, it also was given authority to deal with all subjects connected with the welfare of children. Its research has strengthened the belief in the essential unity of the problems associated with child welfare and the interrelationships of services for the protection of the health, the mental capacity, the emotional development, and the social relations of the child.

The bureau's two administrative experiments, made possible by Congressional legislation have been, therefore, directly related to its research, and were intended to deal with evils it had uncovered. The first, the federal child labor law, was terminated by the Supreme Court's finding that regulation of interstate aspects of child labor was not

Note: Report of the Committee on State Departments Dealing with the Handicapped, Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, Chairman. The Committee was divided into five subcommittees.

authorized by the commerce clause of the Constitution. The second, hygiene and maternity activities, has suffered an interruption. In both cases, however, the essential soundness of the bureau's view was exemplified by the reality and vitality of its relations to the state governments.

In neither case, however, was the bureau brought into immediate association with the state organizations usually classed under the terms *child welfare* or *public welfare*. This is because the development of child welfare activities in the states has been guided by no such sound and dominating principle as guided the establishment of the Children's Bureau. In the states development has been part of the so-called public welfare development, which has been connected with relief for the destitute, or disciplinary treatment for criminal or delinquent groups. State child welfare organization finds its origin in the Poor Law brought from England—a highly local administrative provision for the care of the destitute. It laid on members of family groups the duty, when possible, of keeping each other off the poor rates, and when that was not possible made provision for the relief of the destitute in their own homes and later in such institutions as almshouses. It provided for destitute children by apprenticing those whose parents were not able to maintain and educate them, to others who were supposedly able to supply maintenance and occupational training. State organization also stems from the local machinery for dealing with offenders—the lockup, the inferior criminal court, the penal institution.

In order to review this development from these two origins it is necessary to consider the entire public welfare organization. The study in this volume which has done this (pp. 71–128) shows that development has been different in each state, and also that the task of dealing with pathological conditions after they appear becomes so pressing that the undertaking of preventive measures, other than those resulting from sound curative services has in many cases not seemed feasible. This has been because personnel and financial resources are strained to the limit in the attempt to care

for the children now classified as dependent, neglected, delinquent, and physically or mentally handicapped; because there are long waiting lists on the rolls for mothers' pensions and the institutions for the feeble-minded; because the workers in children's agencies and institutions carry such heavy loads that the quality of their work must suffer; because insufficient appropriations make it impossible to secure properly qualified workers. When such conditions exist the relations of the welfare group, using that term in its narrow sense, to the departments of education, health and labor which are necessary for successful preventive programs, suffer and the reduction of distress that might result from such programs is slower than it should be.

A development in state child welfare greatly to be desired is that of interdepartmental relationships in agencies and facilities, so that the relief experiences of one may be swiftly utilized by another, thus setting in operation forces tending to reduce the volume of preventable suffering. This involves highly skilled record keeping, finely interpreted reports, close relations between and among departments, and, especially, sympathetic interpretation to the public and the legislature of the essential economy of such devices.

In other words in the states child welfare has been merely a part of the whole welfare development, in connection with problems of relieving the destitute and disciplining criminal or delinquent individuals. It stems from the old traditions of the English Poor Law and of punitive law rather than from any integrated approach to the problems of the child as a whole. The doctrine of "less eligibility" has not yet been wholly supplanted by the doctrine of "adequate universal provision," nor has the notion of punishment given away to that of curative treatment in connection with delinquent youth. It may be repeated then that the wider acceptance in the states of the principle of the comprehensive view of the child's problems applied in the organization of the Federal Children's Bureau is essential, and would result in a more vital and organic relation between need or distress and public provision for its treatment by

the different departments in a state which have any responsibility for the child life of the state.

The constitutional principle of separation of powers should also be noted, particularly in relation to juvenile courts. The development of juvenile courts has been one of the outstanding features of modern child welfare. These courts, however, with their probationary services are a division of the judicial organization and not of public welfare departments. The Children's Bureau has indicated directions in which services of juvenile courts can be made more uniform and more effective,¹ but it is not likely that any state department of public welfare can undertake to supervise or control juvenile courts. These relations, it appears, must be confined to consultations and the use of the grant-in-aid, with the opportunities it offers for setting conditions.

The question of the existence or absence of a central authority other than an institution serving the whole state, is one of great importance. If there is a state central authority, the question arises of its relation to institutions, to local authorities, and to private charitable organizations. The question of its own responsibilities also immediately comes to the fore. Studies in this volume show that the responsibilities of the state authority for individual children lead at once to questions of local organization and of the interdependence of the central authority and the local public organization. The latter should be adequately equipped to deal effectively with problems of distress, and to set in operation preventive measures. Local organization should call on the central authority to take over the custody and treatment only of those children for whom it cannot hope because of cost or of special needed treatment, to treat with scientific adequacy. The responsibility of the central authority for developing a public opinion, on which alone adequate local organization can be based, is clear. This public opinion will demand adequate equipment of the central organization which will facilitate the development of the local units and

¹ See especially: U. S. Children's Bureau. *The Child, the Family and the Court*. Publication No. 103, Chart 17. Washington, D. C., 1929.

will enable the central organization, to assure adequate scientific diagnosis and treatment for any child for whom it assumes the general relationship of a guardian. A state department should assume the care of a child only in cases where the local authority is unable to secure or provide adequate care, but when it does assume such care the treatment called for by the child's needs must be applied regardless of which of the two authorities is to assume the cost.

The problem of supervision suggests the wide field in which the central and local agencies are in contact with each other and the equally wide range of contacts between the central agency and private organizations. In the field of supervision important changes are rapidly taking place. The responsibility of the central authority for setting standards and requiring reports to promote reasonably uniform and competent work is being increased. The range of authority of the public agency over the private is also increasing, as well as the central authority's responsibility for consultation and other cooperative aids, including funds. The state is the one authority that can give assurance that there is at least a minimum standard of care available and furnished for all children within its borders. Much more comprehensive knowledge is needed in this field than is now available, as is indicated in other sections of this volume.

Many problems which are presented to state or local authorities have interstate implications, and emphasize the need for a genuine national service to take care of such dislocated cases as appear inevitably to arise from the scattered nature of our state authorities. This national service should not eliminate the state, but cooperate with and supplement the state in the same way as it cooperates with and supplements the local agency. Thus would be prevented the disconcerting spectacle of a non-resident child suffering for lack of a service because in 1789 certain estimable gentlemen, who knew nothing of child welfare, held certain views about the allocation of functions between local and national governments. There is a strange lack of the historical sense

about allowing the view they held in 1789 to determine what services shall be rendered children in 1930.

All the reports confirm the equal importance of two factors in increasing the efficiency of child welfare activities: the need for wisely framed laws authorizing any such agencies, and the need for professionally trained operatives. To secure adequately trained staffs requires not only a great reduction in the effect of political partisanship on the personnel of the agencies, but, on the constructive side, a new public understanding of what a genuinely adequate training implies. It is nothing short of a betrayal of the best interests of the nation to appoint for such work any but the best available people. Many people will always be unable to avail themselves of the best social treatment; just as, many people today cannot afford the best medical treatment. But the limitations of resources alone should excuse lack of service—never the prostitution of the personnel to selfish political uses. Schools of social service will have to be enlarged to supply skilled operatives in sufficient numbers; the merit system of appointment, or some other process having the same object, must be installed to govern selection.

State organization obviously cannot be discussed without reference to the cooperation of local public units. The state is only an agency seeking supplementary cooperation both from other states and from the federal government, and all of them, in the words of Scripture, "many members but one" and the whole "not one member but many, is yet one body."

ORGANIZATION AND EQUIPMENT OF DEPARTMENTS

ALTHOUGH state organization for child welfare was the primary concern of this study, it has been necessary to consider public welfare organization as a whole, since few states provide separate agencies for children's work. The term *public welfare* is used here in its most generally accepted sense as the modern substitute for the earlier *charities and corrections*, and includes all public activities on behalf of the dependent and delinquent, the criminal, those needing treatment for mental disorders or mental deficiency, and the physically handicapped.

The term *public welfare* as applied to state departments, however, has been used both more broadly and more narrowly. Health activities as well as welfare activities are included in the department of public welfare in three states. In a few states public welfare activities have been divided between several departments, and the department of public welfare has no responsibility for the care given by the state to some of the groups included above.

The term *social welfare* is used in this study in referring to departments responsible for state activities for children and other persons in need and for the equally important programs of prevention which divide responsibility for part of the public welfare activities of the state with other state departments.

TYPES OF PUBLIC WELFARE ORGANIZATION

The varied types of public welfare organization throughout the United States are influenced to a large ex-

Note: Report of the Subcommittee on Form and Equipment, Agnes K. Hanna, Chairman.

tent by the varying social and economic conditions in the individual states. A state having a small population within an immense area needs social machinery quite different from that required by a populous state with many large and prosperous cities. Social problems that have become pressing in the latter may not even be felt in the former. In many western states not only are populations small and state financial resources limited, but the period of statehood has been short, and state agencies may be just developing.

The historical development of the states and preconceived ideas of how government should meet needs in any field differ considerably. It is easy to see, therefore, why states in one section of the country differ so materially in their organization from those in another section. Easy communication between neighboring states and similarity in the period of development of state agencies result in one state's copying the program adopted by a neighbor and failing to give adequate consideration to the demonstrated values of work done in another part of the country.

Social and economic conditions and sectional traditions are not, however, the only factors influencing the development or lack of development of public departments. States illustrating opposite extremes may be found side by side. One may have an effectively organized and well equipped department steadily expanding its responsibilities and receiving adequate public support; while another either has no state department or has one with inefficient administration, diminishing or stationary appropriations, and inadequate legal provision for the care of children. There is no single explanation of such differences. Inadequate personnel is the immediate and obvious cause in the poorly developed state agency, but back of such appointments in personnel must lie lack of public understanding of the real meaning of public welfare, lack of leadership in planning for the state, and probably partisan political control.

Provision for leadership within the state department itself is probably the most important of the many factors influencing the development of a state. In a few of the outstand-

ing state departments the ability of the director has been the real reason for a steadily expanding child welfare program. In consequence, the appointment of the director on any other basis than the need of the department and the demonstrated ability of the appointee means serious loss to the state. There is no justification for the appointments made in many states which have as their purpose the payment of political debts. It is appalling to see these states limping along with inadequate departments in spite of demonstrations elsewhere of what can be achieved by putting a state department on a professional basis. Systems of central control, valuable as they may be in unifying and integrating the activities of the state, will never attain the objectives of progressive government until the appointment of persons with vision and professional training is provided for.

The assistance of some body of persons outside the state department vitally interested in the development of public welfare is also of great importance. Such a body may consist, as in New York and Pennsylvania, of an organized private agency having as its major objective the development of public welfare throughout the state, or it may consist of an association of professional workers such as is found in state conferences of social work. The specially appointed legislative or research commission is another type of planning agency. But because of its temporary nature, cannot supply such constant pressure as can the other two agencies. When the state department is equipped to provide leadership, the support and assistance of such agencies is of the greatest service; when the department is inactive or unprogressive, it is the responsibility of these agencies to stimulate and direct public opinion towards correcting the situation. It is obvious that any agency interested in the functioning of the state's work must equip itself with paid personnel able to devote full time to a program of education.

In some states a single agency is responsible for practically all of the public welfare work of the state. In other states several major departments of coordinate rank may

be vested with this responsibility; while in still others administration may be entrusted to a large number of agencies, some with many duties, others with limited functions.

Previous to the reorganization of state government, which may be said to have begun in 1917 in Illinois, the multiplication of state agencies had been carried in some states to what was thought a serious point. Organizations of persons interested in a particular group or a special problem were instrumental in the creation of small departments, commissions, or boards to carry out this specific activity. In other states, on the contrary, no such multiplication of agencies occurred; new activities were added to existing departments that had demonstrated their capacity to deal effectively with new problems and new responsibilities.

Varying interpretations of major needs and problems involved in some services provided by the state have also affected the organization of state public welfare activities. Institutions for the blind and the deaf, for example, have been looked upon in some states as the responsibility of departments of education because their primary function was educational. In other states business administration has been considered the important element; hence such institutions are under the control of central boards administering other state institutions. Recognition of the need for special services to the dependent handicapped child may cause these institutions to be placed under the direction of a department of public welfare.

One of the basic problems of departmental organization is the policy to be adopted by a state in regard to administration of state institutions. The great cost of institutional care, the tremendous outlay for equipment and buildings, and the large staff needed has made institutional administration seem of paramount importance in the minds of legislators and state officials. This has been reflected in the provision of state agencies for this purpose.

Administration of Institutions

The earliest provision made by most states for the care of handicapped children and adults was institutional. The earlier institutions were administered by boards of trustees or managers responsible to the governor and the legislature. At a period when standards of institutional administration had not been developed, the unwieldy increase in size and number of these institutions created one of the most difficult state problems.

The creation of a central state authority to inspect and report upon conditions found in state institutions was the first step toward correcting inadequate and wasteful administration. Valuable as such activities were in improving some institutions, the powers and responsibilities of these supervising boards were too limited to enable them to accomplish the end sought. As a result, a number of states in the central and western sections of the country changed their entire system of administration, abolishing boards of trustees or managers, and creating a central administrative board, its members usually drawing salaries, to administer all or part of the state institutions. In a number of these states such boards are still performing this one type of work; whereas in others institutional administration has become only a part of the work of a more comprehensive department with many types of public welfare activities.

In some of the eastern states the development of central control of institutions was quite different. These states, in place of setting up a new agency, caused the powers of boards which were originally only supervisory to be extended to include administration of institutions. The advantages and disadvantages of administration of state institutions by separate boards of trustees and by different forms of central administration are still matters of deep concern throughout the country.

At the present time administration of state charitable and correctional institutions is provided for in the different states under four general types of program. These programs

and the states in which they were in operation at the time of this investigation are shown in the following outline. In a few states it is difficult to decide whether administration is actually lodged in a separate board of trustees of the institutions or in the department of which these boards are an integral part. Four states (Idaho, Maryland, Montana, Oklahoma) were not included in this classification, as the administrative agency varies with different institutions. Legislative programs in preparation indicate that changes in the method of administration of institutions are under consideration in a few states.

Board of trustees or managers administering different institutions: Arkansas, Alabama, Colorado, Connecticut, Georgia, Delaware, Indiana, Louisiana, Maine, Mississippi, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Mexico, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Utah, Virginia

A central administrative board or department having no other public welfare activities: Arizona, California, Florida,¹ Kansas,² Kentucky, Missouri,¹ Nebraska, Oregon, South Dakota,² Texas, Washington, West Virginia³

A state department or board responsible for all the institutional and general public welfare work of the state: Illinois, Iowa, New Jersey, North Dakota, Ohio, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Vermont, Michigan, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Wyoming

Two or more state departments responsible for institutional and related social welfare work in a specialized field, such as mental diseases, social welfare, including children's work, and penal and correctional: Massachusetts, New York.

Underlying all debate on the values of these programs are four basic needs of the institution: (1) appointment of

¹ Two central boards.

² Also supervises private charitable organizations.

³ Has fiscal control of state agencies.

a superintendent with vision and ability; (2) assistance and consultation service of many different specialists; (3) integrating the work of the institutions with other public welfare work of the state (institution populations come from local communities and usually return to them); (4) efficient business administration.

The need for efficient business administration has bulked large in most discussions of the value of a central system. Emphasis on this important matter has overshadowed the even more vital need that institutional resources should provide the most adequate and individualized care that is possible. The most effective form of institutional administration is the one that can best supply all of these needs.

As has been shown, more than a third of the states have no plan for central administration of institutions. In all but a few of these states there is a department of public or social welfare which has some responsibility for supervising state institutions or giving them assistance. The supervision, however, is usually limited to periodic inspections and the requirement of reports, which are negative rather than constructive methods. In those states where the most effective work has been done by the state department with the board of trustees and superintendents of institutions, some plan has usually been developed for providing special services needed by the institutions or for cooperating with the institutions in carrying out some research project. In a few states the relationship of the supervisory department and the institutions is so close that it is hard to draw the line between supervision and administration. The supervision of state institutions, like that of private agencies, is an educational process which is rendered even more difficult by the widely different types of institutions for which the state is responsible. It is difficult to decide how far a state department with supervisory power only, assisted by boards of trustees of institutions, can go in the development of a unified institutional and general public welfare program.

The usefulness of lay boards of trustees or visitors in the development of adequate institutional work has been

recognized in a number of states, such as Massachusetts, New Jersey, and New York, that have retained such boards as part of the machinery of the state department administering the institutions.

Unless the administering officials have unusual ability, central administration of institutions unrelated to other state activities may fail to keep pace with the social machinery developed by a coordinate department undertaking a preventive program. To divide the work of the state on a functional basis, such as administration of institutions, may seriously interfere with the possibility of providing the type of care best suited to the individual child for whom the state is responsible. There are various methods by which this handicap may be overcome. One of these is the plan used in Virginia of making commitments of children to the state institutions through the state department of public welfare, which gives this department the opportunity to study the child and decide whether or not institutional care is desirable.

The wisdom of centralizing the administration of all institutions in a single department is another problem that should be considered. In the majority of states coordinating institutional care and general social welfare, the department is broadly inclusive and is responsible for all the public welfare work of the state. In Massachusetts and New York, however, state institutions are administered by three coordinate departments, each of which is providing a comprehensive program in a limited field. Institutions for children are administered by one department, institutions for the mentally diseased and handicapped by another, and penal and correctional institutions by a third department. Such a program of departmental organization is perhaps adapted only to the needs of states with large populations.

Number and Type of Agencies

In 5 states (Arkansas, Idaho, Mississippi, Nevada, Utah) there is no state department concerned with general public welfare problems. In 3 of these, the only agencies

concerned primarily with public welfare activities are individual boards of trustees or managers who are administering the institutions of the state; Utah has a juvenile court commission and Arkansas a commission for crippled children.

In the majority of states (26) one major public welfare department has been established. In 3 of these states (Kansas, Texas, Washington) the exclusive or major responsibility of the department is the central administration of state institutions. In 11 states (Alabama, Colorado [not functioning], Georgia, Indiana, Louisiana, Maine, New Hampshire, New Mexico, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Virginia) the department has no responsibility for the administration of state institutions but, except in a few cases, is responsible for the supervision of these institutions. A number of the state departments in this group have broad responsibility for the entire social welfare program of the state and, in addition to general supervision and development of local welfare resources, are undertaking to provide case work of various types for children. In the remaining states of this group (Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, New Jersey, North Dakota, Ohio, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Vermont, Wisconsin, Wyoming) the department is responsible for the administration of state institutions as well as for a more or less comprehensive general program of social welfare.

In the remaining 17 states (Arizona, California, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Kentucky, Maryland, Massachusetts, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, New York, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Carolina [one agency not functioning], South Dakota, West Virginia) two or more state agencies sometimes of comparable rank have been established. In more than half of these states, the division of work between departments is on a functional basis, one department administering institutions, the other having general social welfare responsibilities. In a few states, of which Massachusetts and New York are the most notable examples, a department has been provided for each of the

major fields into which public welfare may be divided. In some states, such as Delaware and South Carolina, which are classified as having two or more state agencies, some of the agencies have no greater responsibilities than are assigned to a division or a bureau in one of the more comprehensive state departments.

In addition to major departments, special commissions or boards have been created in a number of states. Mental hygiene and provision for crippled children and for blind and deaf persons represent a group of activities involving social, medical, and educational problems. Occasionally departments having other functions, such as health or education, are administering one or more of the state activities in these fields. In Massachusetts and New York separate departments of mental hygiene have been established, these departments being responsible for clinics and for institutions caring for mental cases. Seven states (Arkansas, Florida, Kentucky, Michigan, Montana, New Jersey, West Virginia) have special commissions responsible for the care of crippled children, and 6 (Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Iowa, Missouri, Tennessee) have separate commissions for the blind. In most of the remaining states in which activities for these physically and mentally handicapped groups have been developed, this work centers in the major department or departments concerned with public welfare and is sometimes under a specially appointed commission.

Coordination of Work of Agencies

When several state agencies are engaged in work for any special group, such as child welfare work, it is important that some method of coordinating the work of these agencies be devised. The methods used to secure this desired coordination vary from that of the governor's council, provided for by statute in California, down to the few and informal methods employed in other states.

In California the directors of all departments meet monthly, as a council, with the governor, to discuss in open

meeting the needs and accomplishments of the state government. Reorganized state governments, such as Illinois, Ohio, and Massachusetts, have usually provided for a cabinet of this type. Sometimes the cabinet has met only informally, which means that the individual directors at least have an opportunity to become personally acquainted and to discuss common problems conveniently.

In many states the responsibilities of the departments of public welfare and education or health for certain groups of children overlap somewhat. This is especially true of physically handicapped groups such as the crippled, the hard of hearing, or those with poor vision. Working arrangements among such departments may include the exchange of records, the delegation of special pieces of work to one agency and the continuation of conferences to develop the general program.

In order that work for a given group may be done adequately, coordination may have to extend beyond state departments and take into consideration the activities of other agencies. California, for instance, has a conference on Indian Problems, including representation from the state department of social welfare, from the federal government, and from private agencies.

It is impossible to overestimate the importance of research on broad programs of child welfare that will bring to light the interrelations of the activities of departments of public welfare, health, education, and industry. The beginning of such research in a few states by a state department alone or in cooperation with other research agencies is a hopeful indication of what may be achieved in the future.

DEPARTMENTAL ACTIVITIES

The scope of state activities in the field of public welfare varies from state to state, in such matters as the number of private agencies already in the field and the development of local public resources. When few private agencies exist, only a small staff is needed for general supervisory

work and the department may devote a much larger proportion of its energy towards building up local public resources. During the time that such agencies are being developed it may be necessary for the state to undertake certain types of case work that later may be taken over by the county. When, on the other hand, many social organizations exist, the problem of supervising, coordinating, and developing their varied activities may overshadow the department's work in other lines. Possibly the most significant difference in the activities of state children's departments is the extent to which it has been given guardianship for dependent children and the responsibility of caring for them.

The activities being undertaken at the present time by state departments show certain definite trends. The general movement toward concentrating the work of the state in a strong central department with both administrative and supervisory responsibility, has already been noted. These departments may have complete control of state institutions, or they may provide a type of supervisory service that is closely allied to administration. Another discernible tendency is the development of supervisory relationships to such local activities as mothers' aid administration and probation work. Supervision of local public agencies as well as of private agencies is gradually changing from inspection and report to a more constructive educational program. Possibly the most significant activity being undertaken by state departments at the present time is the development of local units of public administration. Studies of local problems and other research projects are assuming an increasingly important place in the activities of progressive departments as part of a program of educational supervision and the development of local resources.

There is much variation throughout the country in the extent to which child welfare activities have been undertaken by state agencies.¹ In 8 states (Alabama, Arizona, Kentucky,

¹ For discussion of legal provisions for child welfare activities, see Breckinridge, S. P.: "Public Welfare Organization with Reference to Child Welfare Activities." *Social Service Review*, Vol. IV, September, 1930, pp. 376-419.

Montana, Oregon, South Carolina, South Dakota, West Virginia) one of the public welfare agencies of the state is designated as a child welfare department, commission, or bureau. Some of these agencies have undertaken only a limited program for children, whereas others are in the process of developing a comprehensive program and are even beginning to extend their activities into the general social welfare field. In all of the remaining states having departments with broad responsibilities, child welfare constitutes one of the major activities of the department. In most of these departments separate bureaus or divisions, in which most of the children's work done by the state is centered, have been created by law or organized by the department; in the remaining departments, work for children is undertaken by several divisions or bureaus within the department.

The designation of one of the divisional units of a department as a children's bureau, a child welfare division, or a division of guardianship, gives no indication of the scope of its activities. Many such divisions are performing limited pieces of work such as placing and supervising dependent children in family homes; whereas other similarly named divisions have undertaken general supervision of all agencies and institutions caring for children, the organization of local public welfare agencies, case work for special groups of handicapped children, and a broad preventive program of research and education.

It is almost impossible to present an accurate picture of how generally different types of activities are being undertaken by state agencies. Statutory provisions give only partial information. New Mexico, for example, with no specific law at all, and California, with a broad interpretation of a slim legal foundation, have each developed an interesting county program.

In general, however, in all but about 10 states, supervision of charitable organizations caring for children is being undertaken by some state agency concerned with public welfare. Some provision has been made in about two-

thirds of these states for supervision, by the department, of boarding homes for children, and in a still smaller group for supervision of maternity homes. In approximately 30 states some type of service to individual children is being given by a state department. The larger number of these departments are placing children in family homes; others are administering aid to mothers, caring for crippled children, providing protective work for unmarried mothers, making social investigations in adoption cases, or providing general case work services in isolated sections of the state. State departments in 18 states have been given the responsibility for or are undertaking to promote the development of county departments or boards equipped to carry out a county program of child welfare or public welfare.

FORM OF ORGANIZATION

Terminology

The terminology used for many state agencies concerned with public welfare problems is most confusing and gives no real understanding of the actual form of organization of the agencies nor of the scope of their activities. These agencies are variously called departments, boards, commissions, or bureaus. The name *department* is usually applied to agencies administered by a single executive appointed by and responsible to the governor. This term, however, is also used, in a few states, for agencies in which administration is vested in a controlling board. The name *board* or *commission* is used for most of the agencies in which responsibility for administration is placed in a group of persons appointed, usually in different years, by the governor. In three states (Kentucky, Montana, South Carolina), an independent state agency called a *bureau* has been created. In a few other states, bureaus of child and animal protection have been created, but the emphasis is on animal work.

The earlier boards of charities and corrections, or reform, were supervisory in character, undertaking inspection and visitation of state and private institutions and agencies. have never changed the scope of their activities, but in three

A few of the eleven state agencies that still retain this name states (Kentucky, South Dakota, Wyoming) this name is used for the agency that is administering state institutions. Agencies in which the primary responsibility was the administration of state institutions were originally called boards of control or of administration. The work of a number of these boards has been greatly broadened by the addition of divisions or bureaus concerned with child welfare. In the states in which there has been in recent years a reorganization of state government, the name *department of public welfare* has been rather generally adopted without much regard to the scope of the activities of the agency. In 2 states (New York, California) the name of the department recently has been changed to the more specific name *social welfare*. In 3 states (Idaho, Nebraska, New Mexico) the department or board of public welfare is responsible for the health work of the state as well as for those activities usually designated as public welfare. In Idaho only the health activities of the department have been developed; whereas in Nebraska and New Mexico health and child welfare work are both included, in the latter in coordinate bureaus, and in the former in one division of the department devoted to child welfare.

Responsibility for Administration

The first central welfare agencies established in many states consisted of boards of unsalaried lay members, which were supervisory in their nature and continuous in that they had overlapping terms. Most of these boards were gradually charged with administrative activities and developed administrative machinery for carrying out their responsibilities. The first agency created in some states was a paid board of from three to five members whose duties were primarily those of administering the institutions; in other states such a board replaced the original supervisory board. Beginning with Illinois in 1917, a number of states have reorganized their administrative machinery, abolishing administrative boards and substituting a departmental form of organization with the director of the department appointed by the gov-

ernor and responsible to him. All three of these forms are to be found at the present time in the different states. Two additional forms of organization are found in a few states. In Oklahoma, the commissioner of the department of charities and corrections is an elected officer, and in 3 states (Arizona, Florida, Oregon) the administrative agency which controls state institutions is an ex-officio board.

Lay Boards. The lay board form of administration has been both warmly defended and sharply criticized. It is significant that it has survived in many states after long years of service and through periods of reorganization, and that it has been used for the two most recently created state agencies, namely the Florida State Board of Public Welfare and the Children's Bureau of Kentucky.

The chief arguments for the perpetuation of this form of administration are that: it tends to prevent political interference with the work of the department and to provide for continuity in policies; such a board can present a liberal and non-technical point of view, which is of great assistance in determining policies; its influence is of much value in stimulating public interest in the work of the department and in providing support for its policies.

The chief argument against this form is that it is contrary to the accepted principles of unified governmental control and responsibility. The Illinois Efficiency and Economy Committee, which planned the first reorganization of a state government, recommended that the board form of administration, with the board rather than the governor appointing the director, be preserved in the public welfare department and in a few other departments. This recommendation was based on recognition of the special needs of a department dealing with human welfare and requiring the services of a professional director. This plan has been advanced again in a recent report of the Welfare Advisory Commission, appointed by the Governor of Ohio in 1930 to study the general welfare situation in the state.

The effectiveness of the lay board form is limited, as are all plans of administration, by the quality of the persons

serving. When lay boards have an advisory rather than an administrative relation to the department, as in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, the activities of the boards are definitely affected by the attitude of the director and the sincerity of his desire to make the board of the greatest value to the department.

In December 1930, 23 states had unpaid boards or commissions responsible for the public welfare, social welfare or child welfare work of the state, either as the only agency, or in cooperation with another agency doing specialized work in administration of institutions, or for children. (In Colorado and South Carolina such agencies have been established but are not functioning at present due to lack of appropriations for their work.) These agencies, as is shown in the following list, were designated as departments, boards, or commissions of public welfare, social welfare, charities, charities and corrections, or child welfare:

Alabama State Child Welfare Department
 Arizona State Child Welfare Board
 Connecticut State Department of Public Welfare
 Delaware State Board of Charities
 Florida State Board of Public Welfare
 Georgia Department of Public Welfare
 Indiana Board of State Charities
 Kentucky State Board of Charities and Corrections; Children's Bureau
 Louisiana State Board of Charities and Corrections
 Maine State Department of Public Welfare
 Maryland Department of Charities; Department of Welfare
 Missouri State Board of Charities and Corrections
 Montana State Board of Charities and Reform
 New Hampshire State Board of Public Welfare
 New Jersey Department of Institutions and Agencies
 New Mexico State Board of Public Welfare
 New York Department of Social Welfare
 North Carolina State Board of Charities and Public Welfare
 Oregon Child Welfare Commission
 Rhode Island State Public Welfare Commission
 South Dakota Child Welfare Commission
 West Virginia State Board of Children's Guardians
 Wyoming State Board of Charities and Reform

Unpaid administrative boards or commissions are usually composed of members with overlapping terms. It is provided in most states that these boards shall be non-partisan, the members being appointed because of their interest in and knowledge of the welfare field. It is probable, however, that appointments will often reflect the existing political control in a state. In some states part of the board may be ex-officio.

Variations are found in the measures providing for overlapping terms for the board members. Alabama, one of the states whose governors have a four-year term, provides for a board of nine members, three of whom are ex-officio; the other six are appointed by the governor for six year terms, two being appointed every two years. North Carolina provides for seven members, with overlapping six year terms, and Virginia for five members with five year overlapping terms. By this device the board is removed from direct political control. In Connecticut the five members of the board have overlapping terms of four years, in Georgia five year terms, and in New Mexico terms of six years, while the governor in each of these states is elected for only two years.

Departmental Administration. The departmental form of administration, with appointment of the director by the governor, makes possible unified control of state government, but it leaves the department open to the insecurity of varying political fortunes. In a few states, as in Massachusetts, a tradition of political non-interference has been developed so that the directors of departments of welfare, health, education, and the like survive political changes, but no such protection is afforded in most of the states having this form of organization. If a change in the directorship of the department meant merely a shift from one professionally equipped director to another, the situation would not be so serious. But the fact that the person in power at the moment has little or no understanding of public welfare problems has an unfortunate effect upon the selection of a director. Even more destructive to the work of the department is the political control of appointments of division heads which have occurred in a few states.

Some of the more serious of these defects might be overcome by requiring certain qualifications for persons to be appointed as directors, and by providing merit appointments for division heads. The advisability of providing an assistant director with professional training and experience, who could maintain continuity in the work of the department through periods of change in the directorship should be seriously considered. Such a plan would be of great value in states where directors are appointed for only two years.

As part of the general program of state reorganization, the public welfare activities in 11 states (California, Illinois, Massachusetts, Michigan, Nebraska, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Vermont, Virginia, Washington) have been organized into one or more state departments with a director or commissioner appointed by the governor and responsible to him. Although the method of appointment of the director of the department is similar in all of these states, a number of them have some provision for a board which will share responsibility or serve in an advisory capacity. In California the director of the department is ex-officio a member of a board whose other members are also appointed by the governor. This unpaid board is actually a controlling board. In Michigan, several commissions exist within the department, and the director sits as a member of each of these. An unpaid board functioning in an advisory capacity only has been created in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Virginia. Illinois also has provision for such a board, which is again functioning after several years. No appointments to the board were made during the interim, and no funds for its use were provided. The position of these public welfare commissions in Illinois is weakened by the fact that the terms of board members are the same or shorter than that of the governor appointing them and co-terminous with the director, who is also appointed by the governor. This plan does not give the advantages of continuity of policy or separation from politics which are the main reasons for having such a board.

Paid Boards. Paid boards of control usually consist of

three to five persons appointed by the governor with the consent of the legislature. Members of the board are appointed in different years, serving several year terms as paid executives, devoting their entire time to their duties. There is thus created a plural headed administrative agency not so intimately affected by political changes as the departmental form of organization, yet open to exploitation by the spoils system. Although these boards are often called *professional*, the qualifications for appointment are usually limited to political affiliations, residence requirements, and provision for a mixed board of men and women members. Each member of the board usually is made responsible for a definite part of the work in order to obtain administrative efficiency.

Boards of this type were created mainly in the central and western states during the early period of central administration of state institutions. In a few outstanding states the activities of the board have been steadily expanded; additional duties have been undertaken, and progress has been made in providing professional services for the institutions under their care. Political appointments, which have made for inadequately qualified personnel, have seriously handicapped the work in other states.

Paid boards of control responsible for the administration of all state charitable and correctional institutions are to be found in 9 states (Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota, Texas, West Virginia, Wisconsin). In 4 of these states (Iowa, Minnesota, North Dakota, Wisconsin) a special bureau has been created for child welfare activities; these 4 states are contiguous, and well illustrate the tendency of neighboring states to borrow each other's methods. The boards in South Dakota and Kansas have some responsibility for the supervision of private charitable organizations, and the board in West Virginia has fiscal control of other state agencies. In the remaining states administration of state institutions is the only responsibility of the board.

Divisional Organization

It is impossible to present a detailed picture of the structural organization of state departments throughout the United States. In some states the organization is prescribed by the statutes, in others it is a question of administrative determination.

The organization of a small department along divisional lines, offering an opportunity for specialization in work, need not divert the use of all the resources of the department from the benefit of any individual. In large, highly centralized departments the specialization of the functions of divisions, or the separation of the locations of their major work, may form a barrier to effective cooperation among divisions. Such departments present in miniature the same conditions that exist when state care is divided on a functional basis among different state departments. Departmental conferences on common problems such as are held in many states (see Educational Publicity, p. 230), or the appointment of liaison officers working in two or more divisions are types of interdivisional relationships. An example of the use of this device is the provision in Minnesota, in the children's bureau of the board of control, of a specialist in mental hygiene who is responsible for the development of local supervision preceding admittance to the state institutions and parole care for feeble-minded persons. This results in direct supervision of and close cooperation with the institution, by members of the board.

The following are a few of the general points that must be considered in deciding on divisional organization:

The scope of activities assigned to each division should be broad enough to provide persons of equal rank as directors of divisions

Direct care and supervisory activities should be under the direction of specialists in these lines in either separate divisions or subdivisions of the department

Fields of work requiring personnel with specialized

training usually should be developed in separate divisions or subdivisions

Services to local communities should be so organized and coordinated in one division that overlapping and conflicting contacts of state personnel with local officials will be eliminated.

Although there are certain advantages in dividing the work of a department along functional lines, it seems better on the whole that all work for children should be coordinated as fully as possible in one major division. This division, which may not be exclusively for children's work, should include all case work and supervisory activities for children. Consideration should also be given to the desirability of including in such a division the administration of institutions caring for children, especially institutions doing child placing.

PERSONNEL

The Executive

The executive in charge of a state department has definite responsibilities towards and definite relationships with a number of people. He is vested by statute with many duties that he must carry out through his staff. Whether he construes these narrowly or liberally and whether his position be a static or a dynamic one as regards the growth of public welfare activities, depends very largely upon the caliber of the person chosen for this position, even though he divides this responsibility with a state board. He must maintain a satisfactory relationship to the board or to the governor appointing him, to the staff under him, to other state departments coordinate with his own, to the legislature, and to other state agencies. Although this is a position of no small responsibility, persons without previous experience or training are often asked to fill it for a brief period of two years.

Some of the problems within the department are those of organization; others are questions of choosing and keeping the best staff members, training them on the job and

using them most effectively by maintaining a high morale within the department. The executive part of the office management includes keeping records, making reports, conducting correspondence, holding interviews and exercising a considerable degree of control over the publicity and the financial operations of the department. Public confidence in the state department depends largely upon public belief in the ability and integrity of the chief executive and of the staff working under his direction. To be effective, his leadership must be strong enough to obtain legislation and appropriations for his department from the legislature. The director should use his position to develop new programs for the department, stimulate others to contribute to these plans, and raise the whole standard and value of the department.

Salaries offered in the field of public welfare are rarely high enough to secure the best type of leader. Except in a few state departments with wide administrative functions, the salaries provided are often smaller than those recognized as essential in other departments requiring professional direction, such as departments of health and education. Another point to be noted in connection with salaries in the public welfare field is that state officers responsible for the administration of state institutions are often better paid than those responsible for the general welfare program of the state. However important good institutional administration is, there is an equally great need for the development of a preventive program.

In a number of states the development of public welfare has been seriously hampered by unwillingness to appoint a director who is not a resident of the state. Such a point of view fails to take into consideration the relatively recent development of professional standards in the public welfare field and the limited number of persons who are equipped for such work. State boundaries should certainly not be permitted to interfere with obtaining the best persons available. The possibility or probability of political interference is another factor that may militate against obtaining a qualified director. Reasonably long tenure of office and assured

financial support of programs are indispensable to attracting able persons to state service.

The Staff

Standards of personnel in state departments vary greatly. In one populous state the only requirements for an important child welfare position consist of good physical condition, the equivalent of a high school degree, familiarity with state laws relating to children, and some administrative ability; whereas, in another state a college education or its equivalent, with one year of training in a recognized school of social work and five years' experience with a first class agency, is required of all staff members. Progressive state departments conform more nearly to the latter than to the former of these standards. College education and some special training or a definite period of experience with a qualified agency are the minimum requirements for new appointees in most of these states.

Unfortunately the salary range in many states is a serious handicap to getting and keeping effective personnel. In one state department employing 39 persons in the division caring for children, the salaries for the field staff and the supervisors ranged from \$1,600 to \$2,800. In another state with 21 field workers and supervisors in the child welfare division, salaries ranged from \$1,200 to \$2,100, the majority of the staff being in the lower scale. In still another state employing a small staff of qualified workers in its child welfare division, salaries for staff members, exclusive of the director, range from \$2,400 to \$2,700. The inadequacy of most of these salaries as compared with those paid in the best private child caring agencies is evident, and yet many of these small salaried state agents not only are undertaking child placing and protective work for children but are supervising the placements made by private child placing agencies. If state departments are to obtain qualified personnel, salaries must keep pace with the recognition of professional standards.

The importance of having specialists on the supervisory staff of state departments is gradually being recognized. Specialists in community organization, child placing, mental hygiene, institutional administration, and other types of work have been provided in different states. The appointment of such specialists should be of the greatest service in raising the professional standards of the staff and in stimulating the agencies supervised or assisted and the public to recognize the value of specialization.

Another problem confronting most state departments is an ever mounting case load. In the majority of states providing case work service, the number of cases carried by staff workers is greatly in excess of the standard generally accepted by the best private agencies. Some of these departments are even in the embarrassing position of advocating for private agencies standards of case work that a direct care division of their own department is not living up to. When staff appointments are constantly lagging behind demands for services which must be met, a tremendous strain is placed upon a department trying to maintain satisfactory standards of case work and at the same time develop other resources. Fairly definite standards are available for determining whether or not a department is providing a large enough direct care staff; but no such criteria have been developed for supervisory work. As a result, wide variations exist in the number of persons provided for supervisory activities in different states. There is need for a thorough study of the values of various supervisory techniques.

The importance of encouraging the social worker in a state department of welfare to further training and study should be recognized. Provision for educational courses and for attendance at conferences, and other devices to stimulate staff thinking and attainment should not be overlooked. The morale of the staff can be greatly improved by recognizing real achievement with salary advances.

In recent years universities and professional schools are giving much more attention to training for public leadership and social work. The trend is toward requiring training for

the public welfare field comparable to the standards set by the best private agencies, and making the work as professional in character as that of the lawyer and doctor.

Merit Appointments

Previous discussion has shown that properly qualified personnel is fundamental to the success of any program of public welfare. How to attract the right persons, retain them in the service, and protect them from political interference is a serious problem. There is considerable difference of opinion, however, as to just how this can best be done.

Advocates of the so-called *civil service method* are convinced that use of this method is the only way to obtain candidates equipped with training and experience and ensure continuing tenure of office. Others believe that merit appointments can be based on similar standards for candidates while retaining for the agency the privilege of eliminating unsatisfactory persons, which is thought to be difficult under civil service procedures. Advocates of this *merit system* assert that the civil service method tends to encourage mediocrity and superannuation. Such a program must rely upon the establishment of a tradition of retaining in office qualified persons who are appointed. To make either of these systems effective there must be a complete job analysis in each line of service, responsible appointing officers, and adequate salaries with the possibility of advancement for efficient service.

Only 10 states (California, Colorado, Illinois, Kansas, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Wisconsin) have enacted civil service laws. The efficiency of civil service activities has varied greatly in these states. In 4 of these (Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Ohio) civil service regulations are also in effect in the counties. Unquestionably the success or failure of civil service depends on its administration. It is quite possible to have the semblance of civil service and yet abuse the system by appointing commissioners and administrative officers who

are willing to resort to patronage. This is simply the spoils system in a more dangerous guise. The result is quite different if civil service is properly administered and the officials cooperate with the departments to be staffed in determining the right type of educated persons and conducting examinations accordingly.

The proper recruiting of social workers under civil service is often neglected. Persons with the right training and experience must be persuaded to take the examinations, otherwise the choice will have to be made among candidates of mediocre ability who have succeeded in getting on the list of eligibles. It is here that the state conference of social workers and the schools of social work should help the state department of welfare.

It is wise to use a probationary period for trying out new staff members in actual service. So much depends on personality and adaptability to special work that it is difficult for even the highest type of civil service examinations to make a wise selection. This probationary period eliminates unfit or mediocre employees, allowing the administrative officers in control to protect their services from unfit personnel.

In few branches of public administration has there been as effective and intensive research as in connection with personnel problems. Not only in the federal government and in states adopting civil service, but in other states and in a number of cities, commissions or committees have been created to work out a classification of positions and the compensation for positions of each grade. Such work is basic to any adequate merit system. Salaries of state employees may be fixed in several ways: by statute specifically naming the office and the salary; by department heads with or without the approval of the governor; by a board or commission. Fixing salaries by statute is most undesirable, as it does not allow for changing living costs or growth in responsibilities. When each director of a department is responsible for the salary scale of his immediate staff, there is always the possibility of political manipulation or of inequitable discrimina-

tion between departments. The weight of argument seems to be in favor of salaries fixed by a board or commission concerned with scientific classification of positions.

FINANCIAL PROVISIONS

Appropriations

The power of the purse is one of the most important factors controlling the welfare work of a state department. Like the power to tax, it may be the power used to destroy, as has happened in several states (Arkansas, Colorado, South Carolina) where the welfare department has actually ceased to function because no appropriation has been made for its continuance. Only slightly less serious is the crippling of a public welfare department by insufficient appropriation. This may be done by lessening the appropriation, by keeping the appropriation stationary while the bulk of the work is increasing by leaps and bounds, or by adding new duties to the work of the department without adding appropriations to make possible a proportionate addition of staff to carry out these new duties. Such limitations in appropriations often occur as a result of a general economy program or lack of understanding of the work of the department in the legislature.

A steadily growing social program will be seriously hampered if appropriations do not keep pace. The department that is providing leadership and services throughout the state should be called upon for greater service only as the public learns to expect and demand more protection from the state. Such public recognition of the work of a department leads to adequate support if the needs of the department are clearly set forth and understood. It is easiest to demonstrate need in direct care services; in consequence increases in appropriations are applied largely to these activities in many states. It is the program of supervision, research, and education, which sets standards and deals in preventives, that is apt to be limited by lack of appropriations unless its place in the department is clearly recognized.

Appropriations for public welfare departments vary considerably in amount. Allowance must be made for the range of activities, state departments that include administration of state institutions, such as those in Illinois and Ohio, must have correspondingly large appropriations. States that have other direct care activities, such as Massachusetts and Ohio, or that handle large state aid funds, such as California, necessarily have larger appropriations than states with purely supervisory activities, such as Georgia. The population of the state also must be considered; the cost in New Mexico, for example, is not comparable to that in New York unless it be reduced to a proportional basis. If actual appropriations for individual departments are studied, they will be found to range from a few thousands up to several millions.

A comparison of expenditures for public welfare purposes throughout the country shows wide variation among the states in per capita expenditures for charities, hospitals, and corrections, and nearly as wide variation in the proportion of the total budget of the state used for such work. Data made available by the United States Bureau of the Census, for the country as a whole, show that the average per capita expenditure for welfare purposes, the largest proportion of which was for institutional services, for the fiscal year 1927, was \$1.65, the expenditures in different states, exclusive of relief for special classes, varying from \$3.42 in Massachusetts to \$.50 per capita in Georgia.¹

The distribution of state funds for education, public welfare, and highway construction, the three major items in most state budgets, will be influenced by many factors, such as the share of costs for each type of work that can be paid by local units, the stage of development of public resources, and the extent to which the state has undertaken to provide the funds actually needed in any of these fields. In the country as a whole, during the ten-year period from 1917 to 1928, the proportion of state budgets spent for

¹ *Financial Statistics of States, 1927*. U. S. Census Bureau, Washington, D. C., Govt. Print. Off., 1929, p. 98.

public welfare decreased, whereas the proportion spent for highways and education increased. During 1927, 17 per cent of the total expenditures of the states went to public welfare, the proportion in individual states varying from 36 per cent in Massachusetts to 7 per cent in Utah. It is interesting to note that all of the 9 states spending less than \$1 per capita for public welfare were putting less than the average proportion of state funds into public welfare activities.

These differences in per capita expenditures and in distribution of state funds reflect the attitudes of budget making authorities, the varying skill with which the needs of the department are presented to the legislature and, ultimately, what the voters will bear in taxes. The director of a department of public welfare must so analyze, prepare, and present his budget that those responsible for the entire state budget will appreciate what cutting any item will mean in limiting service and will see the significance of steady growth in the work of the department.

During the last two decades the movement for budget reform has gained much headway in state government. This is part of the general movement for efficiency and economy in government and is therefore discussed in every efficiency and economy report presented by official commissions or committees that have been created at different times to investigate and report on state administration. At the present time every state has some form of budgetary legislation which provides for budget control by the chief executive, by a special board or department, or, in one state, by the legislature.

No matter how carefully a budget is planned and probable expenditures classified and distributed, it is impossible to forecast a year in advance the actual expenditures of a public welfare department with its varied activities. Appropriations should not be rigidly tied up by segregating each item of the budget; flexibility in expenditure is necessary in order to meet changing conditions. In addition to a generalized appropriation for the department, a proper contingent fund should be allotted to increase flexibility and to meet

unforeseen responsibilities. If the department is engaged in direct care activities, with all or part of the care charged back to the counties, there must necessarily be some direct relationship between the amount expended and the rotary fund granted by the legislature. Otherwise the department will always be financially embarrassed. For example: In Ohio the rotary fund for the care of dependent children is at present only \$40,000 and for crippled children \$63,000. With the monthly bills increasing and the counties slow about paying, this situation is felt acutely.

Centralized purchasing constitutes one of the problems facing a department of public welfare administering state institutions. Although supplies and equipment for state institutions comprise the bulk of state purchases, the purchasing agency of the state may be functioning in a separate department, board, or committee, or the department may itself provide a purchasing division. Imagination, resourcefulness, willingness to cooperate, and understanding of needs as well as technical purchasing skill and good business administration are essential qualifications of such a purchasing division.

Use of Funds

The state must always discriminate carefully among the various ways of using funds for the aid or direct care of children. These funds may be perpetuating harmful or useless activities or strengthening various sound forms of care for children. Just what the state should undertake always depends on the equipment and scope of local public and private and state-wide private agencies. There are always two distinct possibilities: that more can be accomplished by local units if given proper state aid; or that the state may be blocking the development of local services by furnishing state care. Even though the cost of such care may be charged back to the county, state care presents too easy a solution for the locality and a solution which may not be the best for all of the children.

Because of the limited wealth and small population of

many counties, it is improbable that local public resources for the care of children can be developed throughout a state without some assistance from state funds. The need for state grants-in-aid to supplement inadequate local facilities has been long accepted in the field of education and more recently in the field of health. A similar need exists in the social welfare field and the legitimate use of the grant-in-aid should be recognized if equalization of opportunities for the care of children throughout the state is recognized as one of the functions of the state.

Grants-in-aid, if accompanied by adequate supervision, are most valuable not only in stimulating the development of local agencies but in keeping them up to a certain standard. So far only a few states have provided state funds for mothers' aid or for the development of county social service. Assistance from the state for mothers' aid should not ignore the need for service as well as relief. The quality of local administrative agencies should be built up to provide more adequate services.

In aiding counties to set up units for social service, it is seldom wise to appropriate a uniform sum for each county or a definite percentage of salaries, regardless of the county's needs. The distribution of educational funds in many states takes into consideration the relative wealth as well as the relative population of each county. In order to equalize resources, part of the state fund is so distributed that the amount paid to a county is in inverse ratio to its wealth, since the need for services and financial aid is apt to be greatest in counties that can least afford to finance social work units.

The practice of subsidizing private institutions presents another problem in connection with state financing. About half of the states have forbidden state payments to private agencies or have specifically limited them to special types of institutions or to special groups of persons needing care. Such payments are usually made to institutions providing for the sick or the physically or mentally handicapped, although agencies caring for dependent or delinquent children are

also assisted in a few states.¹ The conditions of these payments of tax funds to private agencies for care of children provide for varying degrees of state control of the care given.

State payments to private institutions vary from providing for care of a few children by a highly specialized institution, to providing funds on either a per capita or a lump sum basis for a large part of the maintenance of an institution. A few institutions in which a corporate body has some control are practically maintained by state funds and are receiving state wards only. In some of these institutions the control of the state differs little from that in state-administered institutions.

Control of all state funds used for welfare activities should be placed in the state department of welfare. Requirements and standards set by the department for all public and private agencies that receive grants are an essential factor in maintaining a uniformly high level of care. When the department is equipped to provide specialized services as well as general supervision, its usefulness to agencies which it is assisting financially will be greatly increased.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. There should be in every state, county, or possession of the United States a welfare department with special responsibilities for children. This department should be responsible for the stimulation and promotion of local public agencies; the maintenance of effective supervision over all institutions and agencies caring for children; continuing study and reports on the social needs of the state and the promotion of educational programs; either actual administration or supervision of the direct care activities of the state.

2. Every state should have a coordinated program for the care of children so that each child requiring the care of the state may be provided for according to his need.

¹ Breckinridge, S. P., "Public Welfare Organization with Reference to Child Welfare Activities." *Social Service Review*, Vol. IV, September, 1930, p. 403.

When services for children are the responsibility of several state departments or agencies, it is essential that a definite plan should be developed for relating the activities of these agencies.

3. Departments of public welfare should be safeguarded from political interference. Building up non-political traditions for welfare work, recognition of social work as a profession and the use of a merit system for staff appointments are all useful in this direction.

4. The organization of a department of public welfare should provide for continuity in service and policies as well as for centralized executive responsibility. Administration vested in a lay board with authority to appoint the director offers greater safeguards than any other form, as few of the states which have adopted a program of unified state control with directors of all departments appointed by the governor, have developed a tradition of continuing service and professional appointment of the directors and division heads.

5. Sound organization within a department requires a clear-cut allocation of responsibility and authority following functional lines in general. The most satisfactory arrangement is probably setting up a division, including all the work of the department for children, as a major but not an exclusive responsibility.

6. The department should be equipped with a staff which will take a position of leadership and command respect throughout the state. Minimum standards of training and experience for staff positions comparable to those for similar positions in the private field should be formulated and adhered to until such time as this standard can be raised.

7. It is desirable that the state staff include specialists for services to agencies and to communities.

8. Appropriations should allow for steady expansion in the work of the department as the public learns to expect and demand a more complete social program for the state.

9. The state should be responsible for seeing that adequate care for children is available throughout its jurisdiction. The distribution of state funds for aid or direct care for children should be so planned that it will stimulate and develop local resources for their care. This plan must take into consideration the varying needs of the counties.

DIRECT CARE

THE general principle that it is the duty of the government to assure every child proper protection and support and an opportunity to develop to its fullest capacity has been accepted by many states in theory if not in full practice, but the method by which each state has attempted to meet its responsibility for all classes of handicapped children has depended upon local conditions and the state's early history.

In some sections of the country facilities for child care are provided by private groups. The state either leaves the entire responsibility to these groups, maintaining only the right of supervision, or cooperates with them by paying for the care of such children as may be declared public wards. In other places the actual care of children, especially dependent children, is pressed back upon local government units, such as county welfare organizations. In still other states direct care methods have been developed. The term *direct care* applies to the various programs in which state governments themselves have assumed care of individual children.

Certain types of children, such as the delinquent and the mentally handicapped, present difficulties of care and education and need expensive, specialized treatment which many local governments cannot afford to provide, and there has been, therefore, a more general development of state care for these classes.

The state has long felt itself responsible for the deaf and the blind child but sometimes has discharged this responsibility through cooperation with private organizations. Recognition of the orthopedically crippled child as a special problem is only recent, and programs by states are just be-

Note: Report of the Subcommittee on Direct Care by State Departments, Richard K. Conant, Chairman.

ginning to be worked out, often in conjunction with the private groups that initiated the work.

A new realization of the needs of the individual child has brought about the reorganization in many states of earlier programs of child welfare. The importance of keeping a child in his own home, if possible, has been recognized. With the development of mothers' aid programs in most states, and the agitation for the improvement of family relief through poor-law officials, an appreciation has come of the need of correcting and preventing conditions that create dependency, delinquency, and the various forms of physical and mental handicap. To improve and extend these services a wider development of public responsibility to deal with local conditions is necessary. Some states with well organized and adequately staffed public units have found that much of the actual care of the handicapped may also be provided locally. A number of plans by which states are attempting to establish or improve local public service to children in need of care consequently have grown up in the last decade.

DIVISION OF RESPONSIBILITY

The assumption by a state government of direct care of any class of handicapped children involves relationship both with local public units and with the private child caring agencies, the intricacies of which must be carefully considered.

The question of which children the state will receive into custody should be determined only after careful consideration of what other resources are available. One of the chief problems that a state government must solve in planning its service to children is how its welfare funds may be best expended, and the costs of care and treatment offered have to be carefully allocated as between the state and local units or private agencies. (See "History and Administration of Local Public Units," pp. 71-128.)

There is great difference of opinion among social workers in reference to the soundness or practicability of one

form or another of state organization, therefore a unanimous opinion as to the wisdom of direct care programs cannot be given. It is agreed, however, that whatever method the state adopts, it should recognize:

That every community should be made to realize as far as possible its own responsibility for its social problems

That since the child in need of care is not an isolated unit but a part of larger situations, of a family where illness, poverty, mental deficiency, neglect or delinquency may prevail, and of a community where economic or social inequality may be in evidence, the state should undertake (or see that there are undertaken), measures for the development of normal life and for its maintenance and preservation.

It is important, therefore, that every state child welfare program be scrutinized to determine whether it is relieving local communities of responsibility that would be carried better by them. In the last analysis the heaviest load of actual care comes on the local unit, which is usually the county. In most states these units already administer poor relief, mothers' aid, and give temporary care to children either directly or indirectly through payments to private organizations. With the modern emphasis on prevention of dependency, delinquency, and conditions causing physical and mental handicap, the importance of local preventive work and of the state's responsibility to promote it is apparent and should be encouraged.

THE DELINQUENT

Care for delinquent children is sometimes carried on in state departments other than departments of social welfare. There is less variation in state methods in this field than in state programs for the care of dependent and neglected children.

It is axiomatic that preventive work in the field of delin-

quency should be the responsibility of the local community rather than of the state. The improvement of unwholesome community conditions, provision of recreational facilities and facilities for the understanding treatment of problem behavior in the home and school, and the establishment of intelligent juvenile court service with qualified probation officers, are all necessary features of local programs for preventing delinquency and can only be supplied by authorities conversant with local situations.

When children have already become incorrigible or delinquent, treatment away from their communities is sometimes necessary, and the state may then provide boarding care. In some states, as in Massachusetts, courts now commit delinquent children to the state for placement in family homes. Institutional care of delinquent children has long been generally recognized as a state function, since local units, such as counties, rarely have enough institutional cases to justify building their own institutions with all the features of equipment, clinic, and field service that modern treatment demands.

State provision in the form of institutions for delinquent children with varying programs is found in all the states. In 6 of the southern states, which provide separately for white and Negro children, no state provision has been made for all Negro children, and in 4 of these 6, no provision has been made for Negro girls.¹ A few other states (Delaware, Maryland, New York, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, South Carolina) have no state institutions for certain groups of children, but are providing for these groups in state-aided private institutions.

THE MENTALLY HANDICAPPED

It has been generally accepted that when the mentally ill and the mentally defective must be given institutional care

¹ States with no provisions for delinquent Negro children:

- (a) Girls: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia.
- (b) Boys and girls: Louisiana, Mississippi.

the most scientific, efficient, and economical system is that of the state institution. A few states have developed a well rounded state program, but others continue to operate under a dual system of state and local institutional care. A third group is in a transition stage from local unit care to assumption by the state of full responsibility for the mentally handicapped.

State programs and state institutions are found in all but 4 states (Arizona, Arkansas, Nevada, West Virginia). In Arizona, Arkansas, and West Virginia a state institution has been provided for by law, but either no appropriation has been made or the institution is still under construction.

Many state institutions, however, are still of a custodial type rather than schools to which children may be sent for special training, and from which they will be paroled under supervision as soon as practicable. The only children who should be considered eligible for care in these institutions are those who are too low grade for day schools or whose home conditions are detrimental to their proper training. The child who properly may be safeguarded and given home care in the community should be provided for there. Much may be done without state intervention to diagnose and classify the needs of these children through clinics and special classes in day schools.

Diagnostic clinics are available in hospitals or dispensaries in the larger communities, but the expert professional services of psychiatrists and psychologists are not usually available in smaller communities or in rural areas unless the state provides them. Clinic service should therefore be a most important part of a state's program. This applies also to cases of mental disorder. The Subcommittee on Problems of Mental Health, IV B, of the Conference reported:

There is a considerable amount of mild mental disorder which may be adequately cared for locally under either public or private auspices. Cities with large hospitals can and do have the trained personnel for diagnostic and treatment clinics for mental disorders, but in the smaller communities it is to the state's own interest to provide

a mental hygiene unit to cooperate with various agencies in the community, thus stimulating local pride and initiative but setting adequate standards of clinic work.

Central registration of the mentally defective and the mentally ill is being built up by the departments of mental diseases in a number of states. Such lists include those attending outpatient departments of institutions and hospitals, groups of children paroled from various institutions, and patients of state and private clinics. Social supervision of the paroled feeble-minded seems permanently established; parole in which the individual is carefully supervised in the community and assisted in his adjustments to his life, is recognized in theory, but has not yet been put to any great use.

There is a feeling in states where county and state have had dual systems of institutional responsibility for care of the feeble-minded that such management is and should be transitional. It frequently owed its inception as a county responsibility to lack of state provision. General effort is being made gradually to rid the state of county care, especially of acute cases of mental illness or long-time training of deficient children.

Few county institutions for the care of the feeble-minded and mentally ill, even when properly licensed and approved, can secure a qualified resident medical staff, desirable equipment and proper classification of patients. Hence the argument for state care seems unanswerable.

THE PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED

Care and treatment of the physically handicapped child is generally conceded to be a responsibility of the state. Particular conditions in the state should determine whether that care is given by a state or a local agency. Efficient local provision should be made, whenever possible, thus avoiding separation of the child from his group and giving him a chance to develop in normal surroundings. To this end local remedial provision and local educational opportunity, both

under supervision of the state as to quality and effectiveness, would seem to be the wise provision.

The Blind and the Deaf

The education of children handicapped by sense defects has been recognized for many years as a state responsibility. The earliest provision for these children consisted of the establishment of state residential schools for their education and care during a period of training. Although recognizing the educational purpose of such schools, few states have placed their administration directly in the department of education; specially appointed boards or state departments concerned with administration of other state institutions are usually responsible for the care and training given. In the majority of the states blind and deaf children are cared for in separate institutions but in a number of states the blind and deaf are provided for in the same institutions. In the few states having no residential schools of their own, board and tuition of pupils is paid for at private schools for the blind within the state, as in Massachusetts, or in state or privately supported residential schools in neighboring states; as in Delaware, Nevada and some of the New England states.

The educational methods and the quality of training given in these state institutions vary greatly. Some are adequately equipped and are using the newest and most scientific methods; others are using older educational techniques. In schools for the deaf, for example, lip reading and speech training, or finger spelling and sign language may be the means of communication that is taught.

In recent years the states have undertaken to assist counties in the development of opportunities for children with visual or auditory handicaps through providing funds for special classes in the public schools. Such classes make it possible for some blind and deaf children to obtain an education without leaving their homes. In addition, many children who are hard of hearing but not deaf, and many only partially

blind children are receiving much needed assistance in special classes.¹

The Crippled

Interest in the orthopedically crippled child has been stimulated by widespread epidemics of crippling diseases and the concern of private agencies in the resulting problems has produced much remedial effort. Financial statistics gathered by the federal government for publicly expended funds for the handicapped child, however, show no differentiation between money spent for orthopedically crippled children and those with other physical handicaps.

There is no uniformity in state systems of care. Institutional assistance may be provided in several ways: through the use of private hospitals, the per capita cost paid for by the state, as in Virginia; through university hospitals which may be supported by the state, as in Michigan; through special state orthopedic hospitals or hospital schools as in Minnesota and Massachusetts. Other allocation of institutional costs is sometimes made as between state and county or state and town; or the entire care may be provided locally and paid for by private philanthropy or from local tax funds.

There is a growing feeling that, except in very small states, it is better to use available funds for the development of local facilities for prevention and treatment of orthopedic conditions rather than for the establishment of state institutions providing medical care. State institutions established for crippled children ought to be hospital schools with vocational training and social service facilities and not custodial homes for long-time care.

In Ohio crippled children are committed by the juvenile court to the state, which then provides supervisory service, and places the child in the nearest good orthopedic hospital. The child is kept as near home as possible, sometimes being placed in a boarding home near a clinic or special school, the state paying the bill and collecting from the county. In this

¹ *Special Education*. A Publication of the White House Conference. New York, The Century Co., 1931.

way the state guarantees adequate care and makes more economical arrangements than can most local units, while individual contacts are preserved and the county is responsible for the cost.

State clinics, both for diagnosis and treatment, have developed in a number of states. This provision ranges from state-supported clinics, as in Michigan, Kentucky, and New York, to state-aided private clinics, as in Pennsylvania, and includes permanently located clinics such as the one in North Carolina, and itinerant ones such as there are in New York.

The education of crippled children is carried on through a central hospital school, as in Massachusetts, in schools connected with hospitals, or, for an even larger number of children, by special day school classes in the community or by home teachers for crippled children unable to attend school. In any case the crippled child should, as far as possible, be helped to develop to his fullest capacity by association with normal children.¹

THE DEPENDENT AND THE NEGLECTED

Home Care

The rapid spread of systems of aid to children in their own homes, by means of mothers' allowances, is one of the notable recent developments in the field of public welfare. Forty-five states now have mothers' aid legislation which represents direct care by public authorities but usually not by state authorities. In 15 states (Arizona, California, Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Mexico, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, Virginia, Wisconsin), the statutes provide that the state may contribute to the allowance given to the mother. The amount of such state assistance varies from providing the total expenditure, as in 2 states to providing one-half or one-third of the allowance, as is done in

¹ "The Crippled." *Special Education*. Op. cit.

several states. In Maine, Massachusetts, and Wisconsin, the state carries the expense of aid to families that have no legal settlement in the town or county.

Care Away from Home

There is practically no limit to what a locality can do in the social treatment of dependent children, especially if the community is stimulated by the state to accept its opportunity for service and to seek adequate funds and professional personnel for a well rounded program. The states in recent years have been assuming a share of the cost of social and other services in their political subdivisions, and it seems probable that more state funds will presently be expended in assisting local governments, through grants-in-aid, to do their own work than in providing direct care through state welfare agencies for individual dependent or neglected children, as has been done in the past.

In so far as is possible the state should assume care of only those dependent children who for their own protection must be removed from the vicinity of their homes or who must be taken elsewhere to be trained under new conditions. The state should also make provision for children who require a type of care the community can not afford to provide, but the cost of such care should be divided, the local unit paying its share. The state may find it necessary (at least temporarily) to accept the custody of dependent and neglected children in states which are sparsely settled, especially poor in taxable wealth, or with few social agencies.

Extent

Thirty states and the District of Columbia have some form of direct care for dependent children, but the type of provision varies greatly. In 19 states (Alabama, Arizona, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Maine, Massachusetts, Missouri, Montana, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Ohio, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Vermont, Virginia, West Virginia, Wyoming) and the District of Columbia a state

bureau or department is undertaking placement of children in family homes. In 11 of these states (Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Maine, Missouri, Montana, Ohio, Oklahoma, Rhode Island, Vermont, West Virginia, Wyoming) there are also one or more state institutions for dependent children, 4 of these institutions (Illinois, Indiana, Maine, Ohio) being available only for a selected group, the children of soldiers and sailors. No administrative relationship exists between the state department and the institution in 5 of these states, but in the other the department is placing children from the institution.

In 11 of the states (Colorado, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, Nevada, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Texas, Wisconsin) providing care for dependent children there is no state child placing agency. These states have, however, one or more state institutions caring for dependent children, the institution in one state (Pennsylvania) being restricted to soldiers' and sailors' orphans. These institutions in all but 3 states (Nevada, Pennsylvania, Texas) are not only providing institutional care, but are placing children in family homes.

Forms of State Provision

In 10 states (Alabama, Arizona, Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, South Carolina, Vermont, Virginia, West Virginia) and the District of Columbia child placing is done by a children's bureau or a division of a state welfare department, but there are no state institutions except those in Vermont and West Virginia which are designated as receiving homes.

It is interesting to see how differently even one form of care may be developed; for purposes of comparison brief accounts of the methods used in Alabama, Massachusetts, New Jersey, and Ohio, are given.

*Alabama.*¹ Alabama is one of the latest states to attempt by statute to reduce the load of direct care assumed by the state. The Child Welfare Department of Alabama

¹ Annual Report of the State Child Welfare Department, 1927-28.

still has a Children's Aid Division which accepts children who must be cared for away from their own homes from counties where there is no local provision for such care. Nevertheless, with the establishment of county child welfare boards with paid staffs of qualified workers, the state departments usually will not accept a case until assured that adequate case work has been done. The state is divided into six districts, with a supervisor in each. The supervisors work in close connection with the county welfare agents, advising and consulting with them in order to develop suitable plans for each child. "With a social worker in the community to prevent rather than one sent in to correct, the outlook for the next year's work is brighter than ever before."

The cost of these county boards is borne in part by the counties themselves (40 per cent) and in part by the county board of education, which cooperates in the employment of the county child welfare superintendent. The funds of the county board of education are supplemented by the state board of education. This financial assistance makes it possible for even the poorer counties to have paid workers certified by the state. Increased school attendance and generally bettered conditions of children are found in counties with this trained service.

*Massachusetts.*¹ New England has especially interesting problems of state care for children, since the use of the county as an administrative unit is much less common than in other sections of the country. The town is the accepted unit and, being individualistic and independent, has exerted its influence against the development of other local units. The town, however, is frequently too small in area and population to provide specialized machinery for the care of handicapped classes, and the five New England states, therefore, have developed forms of state custody and care for children. They all, of course, have to face the difficulty of removing the solution of the problem too far from its source. Massachusetts was one of the first New England States to

¹ From report on a field study of the Department of Public Welfare, by Sarah H. Spencer, made for the White House Conference.

recognize its duty towards the dependent and neglected child. Boarding out of children superseded earlier methods of child care under state law in 1882. This system has had a steady development and at present more than six thousand neglected and dependent children are wards of the state and are cared for in free, wage, or family boarding homes.

The Massachusetts Department of Public Welfare, through various divisions of its department, accepts for direct care dependent, neglected, and delinquent children. Dependent children without legal settlement are supported by the state; in the case of children with legal settlement the state collects from the source of settlement or from parents or guardians. Applications from any source are investigated by a special department, and representatives of the department attend the court hearing for the purpose of questioning commitment, should there seem any doubt about the wisdom of such a measure. There are no state institutions for dependent children; all such children are cared for in family homes.

Massachusetts assumes protection of the neglected child committed to it by the court (neglected children in Massachusetts are those whose parents are culpable), and the department of public welfare assumes full responsibility for such a child. In 1928 the neglected children in the care of the division of child guardianship numbered 2,808, as compared with 2,812 dependent children. If there is no local agency near enough to give constructive service to the family from which the neglected child is taken, the child is apt to remain a state charge for a long time. The state department decides whether to return the child to his family, and carefully continues its supervision for a year after a child is so returned.

Delinquent children are received through the usual court sources and then supervised in institutions and on parole, respectively, by a special subdivision of juvenile training.

Through the division of aid and relief some supervision is given to needy unsettled families and, consequently, to the children in them. The mothers and children of mothers' aid

families are supervised by the staff of the mothers' aid subdivision from state headquarters.

Local welfare boards, automatically composed of poor-directors or selectmen, are present even in the smallest towns. County development has not been stressed in the state's political evolution although the county exists and functions in several particulars. The small area of the state, its highly developed technique, its long history of awareness of social problems, and its political construction, which has seemed to demand centralization for efficiency, explain the present type of organization and form of functioning. A new statute permitting a group of towns to combine in one public health unit, indicates a trend of thought that may affect the welfare field also.

*New Jersey.*¹ The New Jersey Board of Children's Guardians has two separate divisions, each created by its own statute, but both under one head, the superintendent of the board. The dependent children's division receives custody of children committed by poor-law officials or courts, the counties paying for board, clothing, and medical care, and the state providing administration and supervision. The state, however, does not participate in the investigation preceding reception of the children. There are approximately 10,000 children under the care of this division, and the workers have case loads of 500 children each.

The home life division cares for children in their own homes by giving relief to widows with children. These allowances are granted by county courts after the petition has been investigated and the case presented by the state board worker with her recommendation. Here, too, the counties pay the bill and the state supervises. Another 10,000 children are under care of this division, each worker having a case load of 190 families. About one-fifth of the applicants for mothers' aid are rejected after state investigation.

A centralized staff with the responsibility divided between county and state, has had certain definite results.

¹ Statement furnished, August, 1930, by Elizabeth Wyatt, Superintendent New Jersey Board of Children's Guardians.

There has been only slow growth of private care for children, as indicated by the discrepancy between the 20,000 under state guardianship and the four or five thousand under care of private agencies. The counties have been backward in setting up their own machinery for preventing or dealing with dependency, and there is often no social agency to provide treatment for a child who needs social reconstruction, but is not eligible to become a state ward. In the sections of New Jersey where good family welfare societies are functioning, the number of children committed to the state are noticeably fewer than from other sections. This is not true in Newark and Essex County.

An interesting feature of the New Jersey program is that children of some widowed mothers are committed to the dependent children division with the recommendation that they be boarded in their own homes, because the maximum grant available in the home life division is lower than the amount provided under the child welfare act. The same recommendation is made for mothers whose husbands are ill, in prison or deserting. A promising trend is the plan for decentralization of staff and the establishment of regional offices nearer to the communities requiring service.

*Ohio.*¹ The State of Ohio through the Division of Charities accepts children committed by some of the county courts. Recognizing the fact that without adequate local programs for early discovery of social needs and intelligent treatment of them, many children would be unnecessarily committed to the state, Ohio has attempted to stimulate the organization of county welfare work. It will accept, for demonstration purposes, as many as 60 cases for guardianship from a newly organized county, gradually working back on the county the responsibility for future care of similar problems.

Ohio frequently assumes responsibility for the unmarried mother, providing both active and consultative service. Local groups are usually unequipped for the care of this type of

¹ Statement furnished, September, 1930, by Lucia Johnson Bing, Superintendent, Division of Charities, Department of Public Welfare.

problem and the state has bent much energy towards meeting this need.

The executive of the division of charities of the Ohio Department of Public Welfare is strongly of the opinion that the state's real job is educative; that it should encourage leadership in local units and stimulate adequate programs of prevention and protection near the source of social problems rather than give direct care itself.

*Virginia.*¹ Though the Virginia Department of Public Welfare is allowed by law to accept several classes of socially and otherwise handicapped children, it finds it necessary to limit the number and types of children it receives. The department accepts the custody of delinquent and insane persons who must be removed from home and who require state care; also, so far as accommodations and appropriations permit, of the feeble-minded who are in need of institutional care. Within appropriation limits, and without taking them into custody, the state aids crippled children under fourteen needing hospital care and other assistance from the State Department of Health and from the State Department of Public Welfare. Juveniles from fourteen to twenty-one receive vocational rehabilitation benefits from the Board of Education. In addition, there are a few dependent and neglected children who have been previously committed under care of the welfare department.

Concentration of the delinquency problem in the welfare department creates a heavy burden for the state. Therefore, since good private child caring agencies and institutions are pushing forward constructive programs in the state, and counties are setting up units with trained county welfare case workers, the state department has wisely decided to leave normal dependency to those other agencies. The only change the state welfare department contemplates in the near future is the organization of its newly created service to crippled children, which will work in cooperation with the state departments of health and education.

¹ Statement furnished, August, 1930, by Emily Dinwiddie, Director, Children's Bureau, Department of Public Welfare.

Other States. Eight other states (Illinois, Indiana, Maine, Missouri, Montana, Ohio, Rhode Island, Wyoming) have a child placement system conducted by a child caring division of the state department of welfare, in addition to state institutions. In Illinois and Rhode Island the state agency places only children who are wards of the state school; whereas, in Missouri, Montana, and Wyoming, commitments may also be made directly to the state department. At the present time admission to the Illinois institution is granted only to children of soldiers or sailors. In the remaining states of this group no administrative relation exists between the state department and the institution or institutions. In Indiana, Maine, and Ohio the institution is known as soldiers', or soldiers' and sailors' orphans' homes.

Twelve other states (Colorado, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, Nevada, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Texas, Wisconsin) have state institutions usually called state homes for dependent children. Oklahoma has three institutions, one for dependent, delinquent, and physically handicapped Negro children, and two for dependent white children, and Texas has 2 state institutions. In Iowa there are 2 state homes; one of them is called a soldiers' orphans' home, but only 5 per cent of the children in it are children of soldiers. All but 3 of these institutions (those in Nevada, Texas, and Pennsylvania) place children in foster homes, usually free homes.

The development of state schools or state homes for dependent children began in 1875, when Massachusetts changed one of its almshouses into such a school. This plan was copied by a number of states.

In 1884 the Michigan State Public School was opened and was heralded widely as a new and admirable method of child care. Minnesota and Wisconsin followed suit. The original plan was to use these state institutions only for temporary care pending placement of children in foster families. Legislation followed prohibiting the commitment to these institutions of any child with physical or mental defect; this legislation has been amended, of late, in Michi-

gan and Wisconsin. Since the staffs of the state schools are inadequate both in number and in training, and rely on free home placement, the fact that state institutions do not usually challenge commitments to the state schools has resulted in a great increase in the number of children received without social investigation. A contributing factor has been found in the inadequacy in most states having these state institutions, of county or local unit organizations in public welfare. It has thus been easy to turn over to the state for complete support children for whom local public officials or private agencies have no plan of treatment.

*Minnesota.*¹ Minnesota's system includes a state school, a children's bureau, and a county welfare organization. The State Board of Control, theoretically, may place out children, but has not yet done so, because no funds have been available for this purpose until 1931. In practice, dependent children are generally committed by courts to the State Public School or to a private agency.

The state board of control acts as guardian of the children committed to it by the courts, and may make such disposition of the child as seems best. The policy of the board is to place children either through an interested private agency, or through the state public school which functions as a child placing agency under the control and supervision of the board.

The children's bureau, under the board of control, does no permanent child placing, but is concerned with setting standards for the education and development of the child caring activities of the state. It stimulates the organization of the county child welfare board by field work and gives supervision and general help to the local groups and private agencies.

The county boards, which operate under the board of control, do a small amount of case work for children for whom adoption, or placement in the state school are unsuitable. Money for the support of dependent children for whom

¹ Statement furnished by Charles F. Hall, Director Children's Bureau, State Board of Control.

state funds are not available comes from the poor fund of a county or township.

Use of Institutions and Foster Homes

Twelve state placing agencies reported 20,524 children under care on July 1, 1930, or later. Nine per cent were in institutions, 24 per cent in free, adoptive, wage, or work homes, 26 per cent in their own homes or elsewhere, and 41 per cent in boarding homes. It is interesting to note this contrast of 41 per cent in boarding homes, placed by child placing agencies, as against 22 per cent where agencies acted for institutions, and one per cent where institutions themselves did their own placing.

Ten institutions in 7 states having institutional provision only reported a total of 7,953 children under care on July 1, 1930; of these 50 per cent were in institutions, 44 per cent in free family homes, 5 per cent in their own homes or elsewhere, and only one per cent in boarding homes. It should be noted, however, that the state school in Michigan and the one in Wisconsin have just begun to develop boarding home care.

The boarding family home represents a new tool in the hands of the careful child welfare worker. It provides a flexible program by means of which dependent and neglected children may be placed in family homes adapted to their needs, while their support is still paid from public funds.

The proportionate number of children receiving institutional care among the three groups of agencies and institutions giving direct care is 9 per cent of the wards of state child placing agencies; 20 per cent where child placing agencies are acting as agents for institutions, and 50 per cent where the institutions themselves do the placing out.

Other Services

Some of the states that have most recently developed or reorganized their state child welfare programs have secured statutes with broad provisions. These allow the develop-

ment of a service suited to changing conditions or to social needs which may differ in widely separated sections of a state. An interesting example of the use of such statutes is found in New Mexico, where the bureau of child welfare may undertake almost any program that seems to promise protection of child life. It has, however, seemed best to the authorities to undertake social case work on a demonstration basis only, withdrawing the state workers when a local public unit with adequate funds and personnel qualified to carry the program has been established. The state bureau often takes a responsibility for planning treatment and providing service for individual children but does not accept their custody or make direct payments for their maintenance.

In any case unelastic or "frozen" programs are to be deplored in social work wherever found, and if need of change in function and method are indicated after careful analysis of existing programs, state officials should be willing to reorganize their work so that it may more effectively serve the needs of handicapped children.

Children Born Out of Wedlock

The problem of the unmarried mother and her child is a complicated one which state departments have been trying earnestly to meet. The very personal aspects of each case and the enormous importance of environmental factors make it essential that the local welfare units take a large share in both the investigation and treatment of such cases. Some states do not even possess specific legal provision for dealing with these problems.

In Ohio the State Department of Public Welfare, working without specific legal statutes, pushes back the responsibility of each case on local groups wherever they are equipped to handle it. The state department, however, acts as consultant in any case of an unmarried mother under twenty-one years and in behalf of any child born out of wedlock if it is without other protection. The state department will accept for case treatment the unmarried mother whose case the local unit is not equipped to handle.

Massachusetts, under the general statute, gives individual service to the unmarried mother without legal settlement, when she comes to the state infirmary for confinement. If the mother is without settlement and therefore a state responsibility the state has the right to institute general bastardy proceedings on behalf of the child.

Minnesota and Wisconsin have put into operation a unique program with specific legal protection for unmarried mother and child. Central reporting of illegitimate or prospective illegitimate births is required. There is a variety of places where legal protective measures for mother and child may be instituted, and the board of control has established a protective policy among certain maternity homes and hospitals.

More systematic birth registration, and the assumption by state welfare departments of licensing and inspection powers in regard to maternity hospitals and boarding homes of children, are indirect methods of protecting this group of children.

The unmarried mother problem, frequently complicated by possible delinquency, feeble-mindedness, venereal infection, and legal questions presents an inherent need for personal treatment. All these complications indicate that it is a problem in the solution of which both state and local units should participate.

ESSENTIALS OF PROGRAMS

A state child welfare bureau that has accepted responsibility for the custody and care of individual children suffering from various forms of social, physical, or mental handicap is obligated to provide a high quality of care. The strategic position of a state welfare department in connection with other public and private agencies gives it an opportunity to promote progressive social work programs throughout the state and to lead in the development of high standards of work and of professional personnel. It is extremely necessary, if this opportunity is to be realized, that

its own work should be of as good a quality as that which the state requires of other agencies. Its staff should be professionally qualified for the tasks assigned to it and should be able to give leadership in the child welfare work of the state. The heavy case loads that are now carried by many state workers are much to be deplored. The wards of a state do not receive the individual care and treatment suited to their needs, which they have a right to, because such individualization is impossible in mass methods where one worker must plan for and supervise several hundred children. A state welfare department that undertakes to do case work should, therefore, make every effort to secure a large enough appropriation to provide a staff adequate in size and professional qualifications for the duties assumed.

The same essentials of good case work for children apply to state programs as to other organizations in the child welfare field. They include emphasis on methods for the protection and preservation of family life and for the prevention of the development of various types of handicap; emphasis on the fact that care should only be given a child away from his own home when it is necessary for his own protection and then for as short a time as possible, an early return to improved home conditions being constantly kept in mind; emphasis on providing for a handicapped child's need with reference to what is best for him and not with reference to what is financially convenient for the local unit.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Every state should accept its responsibility for handicapped children by setting up efficient machinery for their proper care, either through the establishment of a program of direct care by the state itself or through the stimulation of local agencies, public and private, supervised by the state.

2. Every state should definitely accept responsibility for institutional care of the training school type for mentally defective and mentally ill children; for the establishment of mental clinics for early diagnosis and treatment in sections

where such facilities would be otherwise unavailable, for the establishment of central registration and parole from state institutions, an educational program that will stimulate local communities, special day school classes and adequate supervision, to develop a protective program for the mentally handicapped child not requiring institutional care.

3. Every state should definitely accept responsibility for the institutional care of those delinquent children for whom such care is found necessary and for the development of skilled probation and the provision of other resources reducing to a minimum the numbers of children committed to the state schools. The parole service likewise should be placed on a plane of professional social service and an educational program should be instituted that will develop in local communities facilities to prevent delinquency.

4. Every state should accept responsibility for the physically handicapped (the deaf, the blind, the crippled) and provide special clinics; stimulation of special classes in local day schools; statutory authorization of home teachers when necessary; and, if proved necessary, state hospital schools which, in the larger states, shall be developed on a regional basis and shall be equipped with social service and vocational training.

5. Every state should assume responsibility for insuring adequate constructive care for dependent and neglected children either by a governmental or non-governmental agency; and local public responsibility for the community's own problems should be stimulated wherever possible by the establishment of local public welfare units under state supervision.

6. A state undertaking care should observe the following principles:

The state child welfare department staff should be adequate in number and of such quality that its service will provide leadership and encourage imitation of its standards

The state child welfare department should have a staff sufficiently decentralized to keep its administrative

machinery close to local public opinion and to local social work facilities

It should eliminate the dangers of dual responsibility between county, town, and state, but should avoid the danger of relieving communities of their responsibility for assuming full costs, since a fair share of the cost of care should be carried by the local unit or by the private agency

A state child welfare department at no time should receive commitments from court or poor-law officials without some opportunity for reinvestigation by the state

The question of state subsidies or other financial payments between state and local agencies, either public or private, should be given further careful study by a well qualified commission because of the subtle effects on case work in the children's field which are the result of financial relationships between public and private groups. Such a commission should also give due consideration to the wisdom of state and federal grants-in-aid to local public units for the purpose of developing preventive and protective machinery for child care in the less populous or poorer sections of a commonwealth.

SUPERVISION OF INSTITUTIONS AND AGENCIES

PURPOSE

THE term *supervision* is used in referring to any form of oversight, direction, or control exercised by the state in relation to the work of child caring institutions or agencies.

The principle of state supervision is set forth in the following statement by The White House Conference of 1909:

The proper training of destitute children being essential to the well-being of the State, it is a sound public policy that the State, through its duly authorized representative, should inspect the work of all agencies which care for dependent children, whether by institutional or by home-finding methods and whether supported by public or private funds. Such inspection should be made by trained agents, should be thorough, and the results thereof should be reported to the responsible authorities of the institution or agency concerned. The information so secured should be confidential, not to be disclosed except by competent authority.

And among the Minimum Standards adopted in 1919 was the following resolution:¹

A state board of charities or a similar supervisory body should be responsible for the regular inspection and licensing of every institution, agency, or association, incorporated or otherwise, which receives or cares for mothers with children or children who suffer from physical or mental handicaps, or who are delinquent, dependent, or without suitable parental care, and should have authority to revoke such licenses for cause and to prescribe forms of registration and report.

Note: Report of Subcommittee on State Supervision of Public and Private Institutions and Agencies, James H. Foster, Chairman.

¹ U. S. Children's Bureau. *Standards of Child Welfare*. Washington, D. C., Govt. Print. Off., 1919. Pub. No. 60.

This state agency should maintain such supervision and visitation of children in institutions and children placed in family homes as will insure their proper care, training, and protection. The incorporation of private organizations caring for children should be required, and should be subject to the approval of the State Board of charities or similar body. State supervision should be conceived and exercised in harmony with democratic ideals which invite and encourage the service of efficient, altruistic forces of society in the common welfare.

Whatever the statutory powers of the state department and regardless of the methods of supervisory work, the department has a moral if not a legal obligation to assume leadership. State supervision tends to insure the establishment and maintenance of good standards of work and uniformity of practice; to protect the interest of beneficiary children; prevent the establishment of unnecessary institutions and agencies; coordinate existing activities; stimulate interest in new work, the need of which is indicated by changing conditions; and give direction under state leadership to child welfare activities as a whole throughout the state. The point of view of local organizations is almost inevitably partial and limited by immediate interest and local needs while the point of view of the state department is, or should be, general and calculated to relate local activities to the state problem as a whole.

EXTENT

Some form of state supervision of child caring institutions and agencies is provided by the statutes of all but three (Idaho, Mississippi, Nevada) of our forty-eight states.

There are wide differences in the methods employed, staff requirements, and the results obtained. *Systems of Public Welfare*¹ presents a "composite picture within which every state will find its limits" of supervisory powers. Supervisory powers in relation to charitable, curative, reformatory and penal institutions, and industrial schools, hospitals,

¹ Odum, Howard W., and Willard, D. W. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1925. 302 pp.

and asylums, in the counties and municipalities include: investigation and supervision; visitation and inspection; fact finding on treatment, costs, needs, personnel, management, buildings, and so forth; reporting legal violations; advising, suggesting and approving plans; setting standards and making regulations of all sorts; formulating rules for institutions and inmates, and for records and reports; recommending changes in policies or enforcing them; regulating systems of accounts, statistics and reports, and requiring them; supervising official outdoor relief and the administration of mothers' pensions, prescribing record forms and reports, receiving them, approving allotment of funds, visiting recipients of aid, advising and cooperating with the courts concerned; receiving reports from court probation officers; various powers in regard to county institutions, superintendents and welfare boards ranging from advice and recommendations to making rules, regulations, and appointments and presenting charges.

Supervisory powers in relation to private institutions include: investigating petitions of all agencies desiring to care for dependent children, and passing on them; approving bonds, and making rules and regulations regarding bringing dependents into the state or removing them; annual licensing, supervising, regulating, and inspecting agencies or persons caring for children; licensing all institutions soliciting funds in the state, investigating those desiring to borrow state money, and prescribing forms for reports on funds; informing judges of approved institutions; investigating and reporting on all agencies receiving public funds or requesting them, as to needs, service, merits, sources of funds and manner of expenditure, success, obeying the laws and regulations, quality of training and treatment of inmates, personnel and so forth; visiting and inspecting institutions pointing out abuses and advising or compelling correction.

Supervisory powers with special relation to children include: administering or supervising the administration of all laws designed for the protection of children; promoting and taking initiative in matters involving the welfare of

children wherever necessary; administering or supervising mothers' pension laws, allotting pensions; receiving notices of adoptions, regulating them; transferring children in homes or institutions; receiving reports from probation officers; receiving reports from public and private authorities regarding all placed out children; receiving reports on cruel or inhuman treatment of children; participating in administration of compulsory school attendance laws; supervising and directing children in employment.

Institutions generally caring for dependent children are under supervision in 36 states. Eighteen states, Alabama, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia (licensed by court upon recommendation of Department), Illinois, Iowa (institutions receive children from juvenile courts), Maine, Maryland, Michigan, North Carolina, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Rhode Island, South Dakota, West Virginia, and Wisconsin require department licenses. The department approves or certifies in Delaware (upon request only), Indiana, Minnesota, Nebraska (receive children from juvenile courts), Ohio, Oregon, Tennessee, West Virginia, and Wyoming. The department visits or inspects in Arizona, Georgia, Massachusetts (upon consent only), New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, and Vermont. This does not mean, however, that all such institutions in all of these states have the benefit of state supervision. In some states, as in New York, state supervision is limited to institutions which receive payments from public funds.

Agencies for placing children in foster homes are under supervision in 38 states, Alabama, California, Florida, Georgia (licensed by court on recommendations of Department), Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Maryland, Michigan, Missouri, Nebraska, North Carolina, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Texas, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, and Wisconsin, where the agencies are licensed; Delaware, Minnesota, Ohio, Oregon, Tennessee, West Virginia and Wyoming, where approval or certification is given; Arizona, Kansas, Massachusetts, New Hamp-

shire, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, and Pennsylvania, where they are inspected or visited.

Maternity hospitals are licensed or otherwise supervised in 33 states: Alabama, California, Colorado, Connecticut (local licensing), Florida, Idaho, Georgia (only as a child-placing agency), Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky (local licensing), Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New York (local licensing), North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio (state department of health), Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, West Virginia, Virginia, and Wisconsin.

Boarding homes are licensed in the following 33 states. There are however wide variations as to the definition of the term *boarding home* and the ages of children to be cared for: Alabama, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Texas, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, West Virginia, and Wisconsin.

METHODS

Legal provisions and methods through which supervision of existing institutions and agencies is exercised fall into two general classes; first, licensing, approval, or certification; secondly, inspection, visitation, investigation, examination and the like. State approval of the formation of new corporations whose purposes include the care of children, and state approval or recommendations in cases of adoption may also be regarded as methods of state supervision.

In view of the wide differences in local conditions in the several states, the legal requirements governing the establishment and maintenance of charitable and philanthropic organizations and the financial support available to them, the

adequacy of resources for child care and protection, both public and private, and the prevailing standards of work, no conclusion of general validity can be reached as to which of these two procedures is preferable.

Licensing, approval, or certification presupposes careful periodical inspection or visitation and, to be effective, must be on an annual basis, with provision for cancellation for cause at any time. The conditions of issuance must rest upon minimum standards clearly and comprehensively set forth in regulations established by the state department; only general principles ought to be written into the statutes, because of the relatively inflexible nature of laws. Such a system of regulation by departmental rule subject to general statutory requirements gives needed flexibility both in social policies and procedure.

The requirement that any charitable or social work organization be licensed by a state department, places destructive as well as constructive power in the hands of the department. A department using its powers wisely is in a position to check evils of neglect and cruelty and to raise the standards of efficiency in charitable organizations; but there is always the danger that it may use them capriciously in support of some new, untested policy, or arbitrarily because of a religious or racial bias or a reactionary persistence in some outworn theory. It appears, therefore, that the decision of a state department to withhold license, or to refuse to approve or certify, ought not to be final and must be subject to court review.

The distinction between licensing and certification or approval must be clearly understood. A license is merely a permit to do business, and the licensing by a state department of a child caring institution or agency on condition that it puts into effect certain minimum standards set by the department, does not imply definite approval by the department of the work as conducted. Approval or certification, on the other hand, places the state department definitely upon record as satisfied that the institution or agency is in fact doing its work in such a way as to merit the approval

of the supervisory body. In practice a license cannot be refused unless the case against the institution or agency in question can stand the test of court action; state departments, therefore, sometimes have been obliged to issue licenses to organizations whose policies, standards, and administration were not such as to warrant definite approval.

Supervision by inspection is described in state statutes by various phrases, such as to: "visit and inspect"; "investigate" and "visit," but the commonly accepted interpretation of such descriptions is that a state department, within the limitations established by statute, has authority to examine and study in such detail as it may see fit, both the physical plant and the administration, operation, and policies of the institutions or agencies. These findings must be discussed with the responsible boards or officers if inspection is to mean more than the mere assembling of facts. The less satisfactory the findings the more important this becomes. Tactful explanation of the policies of the department and stimulation of an ambition to conform to higher standards can be made possible in this way.

Under this system, however, the department lacks the authority to compel, when conference and persuasion fail, the abandonment of unsatisfactory administrative practices and the correction of positive evils. Where the department has in specific terms the right of visitation, its powers are theoretically considerable, as is indicated by numerous court decisions regarding the powers of visitors.¹ But, in practice, it is very difficult for the department to enforce these powers unless it has specific statutory authority so to do. As in the case of refusal to license or to approve, the interests of the institution must be protected by the right of appeal to the courts.

Institutions and agencies which give promise of permanency are generally incorporated. An important exception is found in some states in certain church institutions where property is held by church organizations but the institution

¹ For interpretation of powers of visitors, see decisions in *Miscellaneous Reports*, New York. Vol. 118, p. 382 (re State School for the Blind).

as such is not incorporated. Incomplete inquiry indicates that in at least half of the states charitable or non-profit-making corporations are on the same footing as any other corporations, but that in twelve or more states charitable corporations may be formed only with the approval of the appropriate state department. It seems reasonable that the state department charged with responsibility for supervision of the care of dependent and delinquent children should give its consent before any new child-caring corporation may be formed. This procedure goes far toward preventing the incorporation of ill-considered enterprises and guaranteeing new and promising charitable corporations sufficient financial and moral support to carry through an adequate program.

The Conclusions of the White House Conference of 1909 include the following statement:

To engage in the work of caring for needy children is to assume a most serious responsibility and should, therefore, be permitted only to those who are definitely organized for the purpose, who are of suitable character, and possess, or have reasonable assurance of securing, the funds needed for their support. The only practicable plan of securing this end is to require the approval, by a state board of charities or other body exercising similar powers, of the incorporation of all child caring agencies, including the approval of any amendments of the charter of a benevolent corporation, if it is to include child caring work; and by forbidding other than duly incorporated agencies to engage in the care of needy children. And during recent years the legislature of the state of New York in case of incorporation of philanthropic corporations by special act has uniformly provided that if the corporation proposes under its statutory powers to establish any institution or activity which if separately incorporated would require the approval of a state department, it must first obtain such approval.

SPECIAL FIELDS OF ACTIVITY

Adoption

Much of the considerable amount of recent legislation concerning adoption is designed more fully to protect the

interests of the child concerned in the proceeding. In most states state supervision rests rather upon general authority to supervise the activities of child placing agencies than upon any statutory authorization to intervene in adoption proceedings as they come before the courts. Such ill-advised or objectionable adoptions as come to notice generally have arisen quite apart from legitimate child placing agencies, either through the acts of irresponsible parents, misguided but well intentioned intermediaries, or persons who make profit by relieving parents of unwanted children, especially children born out of wedlock. It is not possible to estimate the extent of this sort of traffic in children, but there seems to be no doubt that there is a considerable amount of it, and instances are known to many social workers.

The plan of requiring consent or approval of a state department as a preliminary to adoption has not been widely adopted. At least 5 states (California, Minnesota, New Mexico, North Dakota, Oregon) require that when a petition of adoption is filed, the court notify the state department which shall make investigation and report; and in 2 states (Rhode Island, Wisconsin) the court may at its option require investigation by the state department. In none of these states, however, is it impossible for the adoption to be accomplished without the approval of the department.

Many states have statutory requirements for preinvestigation either by the court or its appointee, but it is impossible to tell just how effective such requirements are. Instances are known where adoptions apparently not to the advantage of children concerned have been made in states having such requirements. It, therefore, seems desirable to provide that no adoption order be made for a child from sources other than agencies licensed or approved by the state department, except when formal written approval has been given by the department after careful inquiry.

Boarding Homes

Of the 33 states which provide for the licensing of boarding homes for children, 27 impose this duty upon the state

department of public or child welfare, 4 upon the state department of health, and 2 upon local health departments. The weight of opinion evidently is to the effect that the boarding of children is a problem beyond a mere question of public health. Such homes fall into two classes: those used by child caring agencies and those used by private arrangement with parents or others. Since child placing agencies usually are subject to state supervision, the licensing of the homes which they use presents in theory no serious administrative difficulty. Where the requirements of the agency are reasonably high, and the department is sufficiently staffed to do the needed work of inquiry and visitation, the task of licensing is simple enough. Boarding homes which are privately used, however, are likely to escape notice for considerable periods and, either through ignorance or deliberately, to operate without license.

The effectiveness of licensing as a protective measure is seriously handicapped by the maximum age limit set by the several state laws. In 4 states license is required only for boarding children up to two years of age; 7 states set the age limit at three years, 4 at six, seven, twelve and fourteen years respectively, 2 at fifteen, others at sixteen or seventeen years, or specify no age. It is evident that in the states setting a low maximum age the licensing system fails to protect a great many children who are still too young to protect themselves.

County and Municipal Institutions and Agencies

County and municipal institutions and agencies differ in their legal status from those under private control. But so far as the welfare of the children under their care is concerned, their work is essentially the same and the need and advantages of state supervision are no less apparent. The fact that these institutions are under public control increases rather than lessens the responsibility of the state towards them. The authority of the state to provide for their supervision is beyond question.

Intake

The state does not ordinarily attempt to exercise control over the intake of child caring institutions and agencies past the establishment of minimum standards, although in Connecticut the state department investigates before commitment of a child to a county children's home, and a resulting decrease in admission is reported. No similar arrangement has been discovered elsewhere except where children are under direct state care. It does not seem practicable to carry state supervision of private or local public institutions to the extent of providing state investigation and approval in each case, but the state may properly set up standards of admission and require careful inquiry and a complete record of the facts in each case, so as to form judgment as to compliance with its standards. Standards for the acceptance of children by surrender or otherwise by child placing agencies are especially important and correspondingly difficult to make effective.

DIVISION OF FUNCTIONS

The administrative organization and statutory arrangements in many states place responsibility for state supervision in a single department variously named and constituted. In some states, as in New York, supervisory duties are divided among several departments, such as those of social welfare, health, education and correction. So far as can be learned such distribution of duties is satisfactory where care is taken to prevent overlapping and duplication of authority.

REPORTS BY INSTITUTIONS AND AGENCIES

Reports made to the state department fall into two classes: general reports of movement of population, finances and the like, and reports of individual children. Those of the first group are of help to the department in estimating the work and needs of individual institutions and agencies, and even more in furnishing statistical material useful in reaching conclusions as to general and local needs, setting up gen-

eral policies and the like. Reports of individual children coming under care apparently are seldom required.

Such a system places a heavy burden of detailed work upon the department. In one state (New York) where such reports provide, in effect, a central registration in the office of the state department of children cared for by institutions and agencies subject to its supervision, it is felt that the service which the department is enabled to render to individual children as well as to the institutions and agencies more than warrants the work involved.

EFFECTIVENESS OF SUPERVISION

No conclusions as to the effectiveness of the supervision exercised by individual states have been reached. The quality of supervision depends more upon the ability, ideals, and personality of department heads and their subordinates than upon the form of departmental organization or the extent of statutory powers and duties. Few, or no state departments have sufficient personnel to reach the maximum development indicated as desirable by the scope of their powers and the needs of their states. While added departmental duties are needed in many states to establish a reasonably complete system of supervision of child welfare activities, increased personnel and salaries sufficient to attract and hold able staff members are more pressing needs.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The essential conclusions of the White House Conference of 1909, and of the Conference of 1919, with reference to state supervision of private and local public child welfare institutions and agencies are reaffirmed.

2. Effective state supervision of private and county and other municipal child caring institutions and agencies is indispensable in any complete and efficient state child welfare program. The state, through a welfare or other appropriate department, should maintain effective supervision over all institutions and agencies having the care of destitute, neglected, delinquent, mentally and physically handicapped, or

otherwise dependent children and should set up and enforce, through licensing or some other form of direction or control, at least minimum standards of work, so as to insure proper care, education, and protection to children under institutional care or in foster homes, either free or at board. The choice of the method of supervision is relatively unimportant.

3. In order to make its supervision effective, the state welfare department should have authority, when necessary, to compel obedience by institutions and agencies to statutory requirements and the standards set up by its rules and regulations.

4. In order to protect institutions and agencies against possible injustice, refusal by the department to license or certify, and the issuance of orders, should be subject to appeal to appropriate courts.

5. The state, through the appropriate department, should recognize its moral as well as its legal responsibility for leadership, both in supervising the policies and practices of existing agencies, and in initiating and stimulating needed new activities, in active cooperation with private enterprises, through which experimental activities and new projects can generally most easily be developed; and should seek to establish progressive standards and programs of work.

6. The incorporation of private child caring organizations generally should be required subject to approval by the state department responsible for their supervision.

7. The state department should exercise control over adoptions of children through supervision of the work of legally authorized child placing agencies and through investigation and approval, in all cases, of adoption of children not proposed by such agencies.

8. Private and local county and other municipal child-caring organizations should be required to make reports concerning their work and finances, at least annually, to the state department.

EDUCATIONAL PUBLICITY FOR PROMOTING SOCIAL WORK PROGRAMS

THE state has a responsibility not only for the maintenance of standards in work already set up, but for the promotion of new and progressive programs in social work, especially where none exists.

Letters were sent to those state departments which were thought to have made an especial approach to the problem and replies were received from 18 states (Alabama, California, Connecticut, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Wisconsin) and the District of Columbia.

In addition published reports of many states were studied; personal interviews and much correspondence were had with members of state welfare department staffs and private agencies, in order to evaluate, if possible, the soundness and quality of the leadership given by the state. Educational procedures, rather than the actual organization work involved in setting up new activities, has been the primary concern of the study.

RESPONSIBILITY FOR PROGRAMS

A state department of welfare holds a strategic position. First, it has a state-wide responsibility for social conditions. Then, in most states, welfare officials are directed by statute to inform themselves of the work of local organizations. These officials should have, therefore, a greater knowledge of local social conditions and of the relative efficiency of child welfare agencies than any other public or private

Note: Report of Subcommittee on Educational Publicity for Promoting Social Work Programs, Lucia Johnson Bing, Chairman.

agency. The department that does not utilize this unique advantage to stimulate the development of better social conditions and greater efficiency in welfare work, lacks an adequate perspective on its own field of work.

Handicaps

It has been pointed out elsewhere that state supervision of one sort or another is required in forty-five states. The interpretation of the statutes imposing this duty upon members of the state welfare staffs, and the quality of their supervision, vary with the imagination, vision, and social training of those administering the work, and with the appropriations made available to the department. State executives in most of the states complain that their departments are under staffed and inadequately financed. Nowhere is it truer that "to him that hath (educational publicity) it shall be given, and from him that hath not, shall be taken away, even that which he hath."

Several executives have called attention to certain handicaps under which a state department labors and which, in their opinion, prevent the satisfactory extension of educational progress. Two of these are the overloads in case work necessary when a state carries a program of direct care, and the assumption of too much responsibility for investigation or approval of all foster home placements by private agencies. More than one executive has expressed regret that his inadequate staff was obliged to assume the actual custody of children when a program of leadership by demonstration or consultation seemed to be more needed and might lead to preventive programs obviating the need of committing children to state care.

Another handicap to the assumption of real leadership is too often found in the types of state employees who do not always compare favorably in personality and training with the community workers whom they supervise and are expected to stimulate. This is sometimes due to the low salary scale and the lack of emphasis on training, and some-

times to the political aspects of public service frequently found in state departments. It is, however, encouraging to learn that these conditions are gradually changing for the better, and it is a matter for congratulation that so many state bureaus are liberally interpreting their duties as described in the statutes and are developing constructive programs for promoting social work.

PROMOTION OF PROGRAMS

Progressive welfare departments or boards have in general recognized their responsibility for promoting state-wide programs, and use a variety of methods. Since such programs cannot be established soundly unless they are based on knowledge of the needs of local communities or individual organizations, surveys and studies of these needs are perhaps the first and most important steps in educational programs.

Although many welfare officials make community surveys, few departments are adequately equipped financially or in personnel for extended programs along this line. Nevertheless several of them, whose workers are impressed with the importance of inquiry into the state's needs, have interpreted their statutes liberally and have ingeniously made opportunities to develop educational programs through contact with child caring organizations, public officials and citizens in general.

In several of the states where there is legal supervision of private agencies by the state welfare department, these departments dovetail special studies of a community or an agency with their regular visits of supervision. These must of necessity be somewhat informal and superficial, but they afford an interesting beginning. One or two states have been able to undertake more elaborate demonstrations by putting professional workers into certain localities to show the need and value of particular types of social service. The state workers withdraw when the local community has organized itself and employed qualified workers to take over the program thus inaugurated.

Several state executives, in replying to the questionnaire, stated that new legislation had been passed in their states, requiring them to investigate the causes of bad social conditions. No appropriations, however, had been made to allow their staffs to undertake such inquiries.

There are certain definite problems connected with promoting social work programs. These are, in general, the needs for organizing local resources, developing family welfare work, setting minimum standards creating a demand for professional social service, and adjusting personnel and financial problems.

Organization of Local Resources

The prevention of delinquency, disease, and poverty, and the equalization of opportunity for children, are the goals of social work. Since most communities, however, are more concerned in caring for the socially, physically, and mentally handicapped child than in preventing the development of the conditions causing his handicap, it is necessary to awaken social consciousness on the part of citizens to community conditions which need correction. The provision of means for dealing with these problems is often delayed through the lack of a local public welfare authority, so that the organization of local units of social work is a primary necessity. The ultimate success of such units will depend largely upon the degree of social understanding among the leaders of the community. A state department of welfare is usually too far removed to influence them directly, but, by conducting or stimulating a local study, may bring information to the people of a community regarding their own situation.

A survey should be made only in response to a local realization of needs and not as an imposition of wisdom from above. It should be a democratic process in which the community is assisted to see its own problems and to decide upon ways and means of meeting them.

Where local surveys are conducted under state or na-

tional auspices, opportunity is provided for focussing attention on the common objectives of all protective services for children and on the standards generally accepted. At the same time the principle that all service should be an outgrowth of community traditions and resources should be adhered to and the work should not be a mere repetition of patterns found practicable elsewhere. This dual approach to community organization results in the development of flexible programs capable of adaptation to changing need.

It is more common to find state departments undertaking special studies of agencies already in existence, or of the needs of the community relative to the establishment of a particular type of agency, than it is to find them equipped and ready to conduct a community-wide survey with no preconceptions of the type of agency to be ultimately organized. At present, social agencies are rather strongly competitive, and there is great need for state departments without preconceived notions to conduct impartial surveys or to join with other state and national agencies, in an impartial investigation of the needs of various communities.

An interesting experiment growing out of the cooperation induced by the State Council of Defense during the World War was conducted for a time in Ohio. An Ohio Council of Social Agencies was organized from the state departments with social programs of health, education, welfare, and industrial relations, and from such private state-wide agencies as the Red Cross, State Council for Organizing Family Social Work, Association of Community Chests, State Council on Child Welfare, Ohio Institute (for state research), and others. This state council, upon the request of the local communities, conducted joint cooperative surveys in some eight different cities, each state department and private agency assigning a representative for from ten days to three weeks with permission to assist in any follow-up plans. During the survey proper, these representatives met nightly with a local committee of key citizens to discuss and interpret the day's findings. Such cooperative effort precluded jealous competition, to the lasting benefit of the local

communities and resulted in a well rounded interpretation of community needs. The state council was ultimately abandoned as a result of political changes in state departments and the loss of unselfish, far-sighted leadership.

It has been the practice in Ohio to make a summary of local needs before the establishment of a day nursery is authorized or a new children's home set up. Before any pretentious building programs are inaugurated, the state department urges the local board to permit a local survey which embraces a study of juvenile court practice and assistance to families in their own homes. Such a study sometimes results in diverting public attention from the institutional care of children to the desirability of rehabilitation and strengthening of family life.

In Pennsylvania the staff of the state bureau of children has seldom found time to undertake comprehensive studies or surveys. The workers have, however, used every means at their command to rouse interest in the conditions that they have discovered and have urged many communities and organizations to make a critical analysis of their own activities. Among the means used to rouse this interest has been the extension of the bureau's annual visitation of an institution or agency into a more detailed study of certain features of the work. This has sometimes called for special visits to placed out children, or for a demonstration, in a limited number of cases, of the value of a careful investigation of applications for care in determining the real needs of the children involved. In one or two cases where a community has embarked upon an extensive survey of its child welfare organizations, the staff of the bureau has cooperated by dovetailing its supervisory work in those localities to fit in with the programs of the survey groups. In other cases, where the bureau staff could not contribute any survey service themselves, they have been able to help communities to secure other qualified workers for the task. It is the policy of the department always to throw responsibility on the individual community.

Social service in North Carolina is largely public service,

and since this is organized on the county unit basis, the county has generally been the area for survey purposes. The State Board of Charities has called upon the services of outside national agencies to help in extensive surveys, but has encouraged local communities to study their own conditions, and given them assistance in working out their plans. This assistance may consist of consultation service, of the temporary loan of a state worker to help a local group launch its study, or of help in developing a schedule which the local people making the survey can follow.

In Georgia the Department of Public Welfare keeps for its own use a county index card which serves as a face sheet for the data gradually collected about needs and resources of a county. This gives a helpful background for the more intensive studies that may be made before local public welfare units are organized. This material and that collected in these studies is made available to chambers of commerce, juvenile court officers, and community chest groups.

Special committees of the New Jersey Department of Institutions and Agencies, in cooperation with specialists, have studied the tuberculosis situation as it relates to children, the social and economic status of Negroes, existing adoption laws and dependency among children, the need for mental hygiene clinics and for special provision for defective delinquents, and other subjects related to child welfare. Through the State Conference of Social Work and local welfare groups, the findings of these committees have been brought before the people of the state.

The educational results of the many studies and surveys made or sponsored by state welfare departments are interesting and far reaching. Reports from various states indicate that efforts often follow these studies to make organizations better serve the welfare program of the community, and that some agencies alter their functions to meet new needs. Thus we find in one state a maternity home closing as an institution and directing its resources to the development of a case-working protective agency for unmarried mothers and predelinquent girls. In another community, two

child caring institutions which had no program of social case work and were duplicating each other's work merged, creating one smaller institution giving only temporary care and depending on a professionally staffed community agency for investigations of intake applications and for plans for outgo. A study of local needs and resources has often prevented the establishment of an organization not needed in a community, and has directed attention to the development of needed activities entirely overlooked until that time.

Emphasizing Family Case Work

The establishment of better measures for family relief is recognized as a responsibility of state welfare departments by comparatively few states. One means of preventing the necessity for caring for large numbers of children away from their homes is found in adequate family welfare organization, and public departments should be concerned with promoting such agencies.

Public poor-relief was the earliest form of aid to destitute families and still is the most common method of aid to the poor throughout the country. Some states, however, have no provision for public poor-relief and many local communities also give no outdoor relief from public funds. In such places private funds must supply the lack, or children will be separated from their families through poverty alone.

The aid administered by poor-law officials is in most instances inadequate, and case work service is practically unknown. The state department has an obligation constantly to suggest to poor-law officials the case work method as distinguished from pure relief. It should work with the legislature as well, to extend the idea of social service and to provide for state participation in the cost. Only in this way can reasonable uniformity and desirable standards of service be obtained.

Such an evolution will mean the ultimate abolition of the poor law and the replacement of it by social services, some on a state-wide, some on a local basis, but all classified ac-

according to the source of distress, and characterized by modern principles of social investigation and adequate treatment; the treatment to be made reasonably uniform, first, through the advice and help of the state, and second, through the aid given by the state under conditions of reasonable skill and efficiency.

The improvement of poor-relief administration and promotion of satisfactory standards in mothers' aid work are very important phases of state welfare work. Statistics collected by state departments from child caring organizations reveal that in each state a great number of children are being cared for away from their own homes, principally because the communities from which they come have neither facilities nor funds to care for them adequately at home. Moreover the same communities have seldom undertaken programs for the protection of family life and the prevention of dependency and delinquency.

In Alabama the Child Welfare Department lends its staff to local communities to develop local agencies. It plans, now that all counties are organized with welfare boards, to go into each county and, as far as possible, individually develop a community interest in providing family welfare resources.

An intensive study of the social agencies functioning in one county recently was made. One of those agencies was a community fund operating with limited funds and a volunteer service. As a result of the department's study of the interrelation of the various agencies, it was recommended that this community fund be expanded to adopt a broader program and to become a family welfare society serving the whole county. This recommendation was adopted, disbursement of relief funds on a volunteer basis was immediately discontinued, and a qualified social worker was employed to establish the new program of case work service to families.

The Alabama Child Welfare Department has also sought advice from a national private agency in studying its own functions, and its possible services to the state. As a result of this study, evidence has been accumulated to show

the need for public aid to children in their own homes. Now that the structure for the administration of mothers' aid has been built up through the organization of child welfare boards, the legislature meeting in 1931, was to be asked to appropriate funds for mothers' aid to be administered by these county boards under the supervision of the state department.

The Poor Relief Act in New Jersey offers an opportunity for the introduction of modern principles of social work into poor-relief through the county boards of freeholders. These boards have the power of establishing modern welfare houses to replace existing county almshouses, and appointing unsalaried welfare boards consisting of seven leading citizens of the county to manage the welfare house.

In California the State Department of Social Welfare is legally required to set standards for home relief given from either state or county public funds. State supervision of this work ensures better family case work service.

State welfare departments are beginning to realize the importance of family case work and are seeking to devise means by which they may extend their service and influence the standards of family care given by local officials and private societies.

Setting Minimum Standards

The responsibility for setting standards of work to be maintained by local public and private organizations is very generally accepted by state departments, but the enterprise shown in establishing these standards is indicative of the particular department's interest in educational opportunities. One state executive views the matter as follows:

Every state department should have a program of standards for child welfare as enlightened as the progressive and responsible thinking of the community will endorse. The formulation of such standards should be a community matter under the leadership of the state, but including public health and other professional bodies, and educators, particularly those engaged in preparing students for any of the fields allied with social welfare. The process of formulating such standards

will furnish basic community education in child welfare and will stimulate the interest, energy and resources needed for putting such standards into effect.

Joint participation of state and local groups, public and private, in the setting of standards is a healthy tendency. Democratic group thinking is the only way of arriving at sound policies of social work, and the contribution of many state departments in making opportunities for such discussion should not be overlooked.

The public departments which seem to be doing most along this line are undoubtedly those with the highest grade of staff members, who subject themselves and their methods to critical self-analysis. A continued scrutiny of methods by which the state may make itself more useful to the organizations under its supervision is bound to result in constructive service. Inspection, as such, can be a drab routine matter, but transmuted, by intelligent perception of each organization and a desire both to give and receive help, into a case work problem related to the whole social problem of the state, the state's visitation becomes indispensable.

Certain states have gone farther than others in setting standards for all child caring organizations. These standards have not, however, been arbitrarily demanded, nor have they been set up overnight. The departments that have been interested in establishing them have proceeded on the principle that the consent of the governed must be secured if lasting results are to be obtained.

A number of state executives, therefore, point to the value of conferences on standards, either large group conferences comprised of certain types of workers, or smaller conferences representing board and staff of an individual agency. In group conferences, state welfare workers find the more progressive leaders in the private field arrayed with them on the side of higher standards, and with this help are often able to convince the rest of the group of the value of higher standards.

The relationship between state welfare departments

and juvenile courts, between these departments and mothers' aid administration, or between the state and poor-law officials varies throughout the country. In some states there is no state supervision of any of these activities. In still others, state supervision of probation officers is delegated to an independent state probation commission or department rather than to a welfare department, and the latter has no official contact with the work of the courts.

There is a wide diversity in methods and standards in the mothers' aid field. In some states, as in Illinois and Pennsylvania, the state and county share in the payment of amounts granted to mothers. In other states, the towns pay the mothers' aid and the state reimburses them, while in such states as Ohio, the grants and the service are wholly from the county. Those states that share in the cost of mothers' aid have a distinct advantage in influencing the quality of the local work. Where no state supervision is available, contact with autonomous local mothers' allowance boards may be difficult.

A number of welfare departments, however, have made it a practice to establish friendly relations with judges and probation officers, and have been able to exert real influence on the establishment of better standards even when they have no legal authority to supervise probation service.

In the spring of 1928 the California Department of Social Welfare held a meeting to which all superintendents and presidents of boards of institutions were invited. At this time the whole matter of the need of social workers in institutions was discussed fully. Some of the institutions had been employing social workers for years, and their representatives spoke earnestly of the value of such service. A general endorsement of the principle that each institution should employ qualified professional social service workers followed the discussion, an endorsement that would scarcely have been made had not the department used the conference method and received the support of the institutions already using social workers. The action of the conference enabled the state department of social welfare to include

in its regulations the rule that every institution, according to its size, should employ the whole or part-time service of a qualified social worker. This requirement was not put into effect until January 1, 1929, so that the institutions had time in which to adjust their budgets and their programs of work. It is reported that in October, 1930, about two-thirds of the children in California institutions were under a system of social work done on a fairly satisfactory standard. The department does not stop there, but continues to "hammer at community chests to budget adequately for social service so that no objection to the new rule can be made on the score of costs."

An interesting use of the conference method in setting standards is illustrated by the committee on minimum standards for child placing agencies that was created by the Children's Bureau of Minnesota. Representatives of children's agencies were asked by the Minnesota bureau to work out standards acceptable to the private organizations, which the state might require of all child placing societies. Many meetings were held over a period of months, the final compilations of the committee being adopted officially by the state as: *Minimum Standards for Boarding and Permanent Homes*, and *Standards for Maternity Hospitals of Minnesota*.

The Virginia Department of Public Welfare, believing that a state-wide educational program is necessary before general acceptance of its child caring standards can be secured, promotes visits by committees and delegations from institutions and agencies to similar organizations with higher standards.

When the Pennsylvania Department of Welfare was organized in 1921, there was no knowledge of the child welfare situation throughout the state. The bureau of children spent several years building up its body of information and trying to establish friendly contacts with institutions and agencies. In 1924, at a summer institute held at one of the institutions in the state, a list of minimum standards for institutions was drawn up which included many of the insti-

tutions caring for children throughout the state. These minimum standards were the direct result of a cooperative activity between the bureau and the institutions involved. Since that time the bureau of children has held numerous conferences in the hope of raising standards of service.

In 1928 to 1929 a series of small advisory conferences were held in Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and Harrisburg, to which the outstanding leaders of child welfare were invited by the Pennsylvania Bureau of Children to consider its methods of supervision, the standards it should try to set, as well as its program of general education throughout the state. A liaison conference has also grown up, representing the agencies which are working on a state-wide basis, or on the basis of large regional activities which cover half the state. In this conference various community needs are discussed as well as some of the problems of particular agencies.

Ohio has originated a self-grading scheme whereby boards and superintendents of institutions may determine for themselves whether they are doing Grade A, B, or C work. The Ohio state department sends to its child caring institutions, at periodical intervals, attractively mimeographed sheets enumerating three different qualities of service on different phases of work, such as investigations preliminary to admission, physical examinations, recreational opportunities, community contacts, supervision after placement, and so forth. Each institution is asked to inform the state which quality of work it is doing according to grades indicated.

The Wisconsin Juvenile Department of the Board of Control has called together three informal committees from the institutions and agencies to discuss the following subjects: *The Child to Be Placed in the Foster Home*, *The Investigation of the Foster Home*, and *The Supervision of the Foster Home after Placement*. On each committee, there were five or six people, representing different types of agencies, but all doing foster home work. The director of the juvenile department served as secretary and called the meeting. In one instance, one of the members was

elected chairman and presided at the meetings. Working fairly closely with the state department, each committee had many meetings, discussing standards and finally, when the standards were agreed upon by the committee as a whole, the tentative draft was sent to the executive secretary of every agency in the state doing child placing work. They were asked to send back criticisms and suggestions which the committee would consider before drawing up more permanent standards. These standards, however, were always considered tentative and have not as yet been definitely accepted by the board of control or by all of the agencies.

Promoting Professional Service

Interest in social service and in the employment of qualified workers in local communities must be cultivated. It is now an accepted principle that school teachers should have certain training and qualifications. If teachers charged with training the minds of their pupils must be certified, it is at least equally important that public social workers, who have even graver responsibility for determining a child's environment and character training, should be required to meet certain standards.

A demand for professional service on the part of social workers usually may best be created locally only through demonstrations of what such service means. The Child Welfare Department of New Mexico has sometimes sent a worker to a locality to carry on child welfare work and to arouse interest in having such a permanent worker employed by the community. As soon as funds and local cooperation are available for the support of a project the state worker withdraws, maintaining only a supervisory relationship. The qualifications demanded of social workers in these local positions are a college education, special courses in a school of social work or in a university which provides instruction and field experience in social case work, and at least four years' experience in a recognized social service agency of good standards.

A number of units have been set up in New Mexico, all varying as to size of territory served and scope of work. One unit has a local worker who serves a judicial district of three counties, limiting her work to children in need of special care, her salary being paid by the juvenile court judge. Another local worker serves the public schools of one city and a judicial district of four counties, and the salary is paid jointly by the city school superintendent and the juvenile court judge. Both of these units and another local unit, which serves a judicial district of three counties, put special emphasis on the prevention of juvenile delinquency. One or two of the other local units combine work for adults as well as for children.

Several communities without the services of special social workers are being stimulated by the state bureau to meet this need. Only after very careful study can it be determined what type of project will best meet the particular needs in a given situation, or what worker is best qualified to carry out the program. The field representative of the state bureau will gladly participate in a study of a community and assist it to take up the problem of meeting its social responsibilities.

Pennsylvania, in its mothers' assistance fund division has made the unique experiment of having an itinerant worker. Rural counties which cannot afford to employ a qualified social worker permanently can employ one for two or three months of the year. Through this itinerant worker's demonstration of what a county worker can accomplish, several counties have realized the importance of continuous professional service and are taking steps to combine with other agencies in their area in the whole-time employment of a social worker.

In Alabama, a county child welfare worker, to secure a provisional certificate allowing her to hold a county position, must be a graduate of a grade. In addition to three years' experience in dealing with people, she must have had three months' study of case work and community organization under the supervision of recognized authorities in the social work field and a college education. To make permanent the

provisional certificate, which is issued on a basis of meeting the first requirements, a worker must attend a course in social work for a six weeks' period in two summers out of every three. The county pays the salaries during this course.

In California, the Department of Social Welfare has asked institutions not to engage any social worker unless the state department has passed upon her qualifications. This step has been taken to help institutions avoid the employment of unsatisfactory persons, the department preferring rather to go slowly in the introduction of case workers to institutions than to have an unsuitable person prejudice an institution against high grade social work. It is very interesting to see that California's state department is establishing this educational procedure through friendly requests to the institutions without any legal authority to require this cooperation.

Trained social workers constitute an important part of the professional personnel in institutions supervised by the New Jersey State Department of Institutions and Agencies. It is reported that a majority of the state institutions, the State Board of Children's Guardians, the Commission for the Blind, State Mental Hygiene Clinics, and the Parole Bureau, all have trained social workers on their staffs. The department has had the hearty cooperation of the New Jersey Civil Service Commission in its efforts to raise standards of qualifications for social workers.

Meeting Personnel Problems

There is obvious futility in promoting local organization with emphasis on the necessity of professional social workers, only to have the community turn about and say, "Get us such a worker," when none is to be had. Inevitably some responsibility for the promotion of training and placement of workers must be accepted by the state department of welfare if satisfactory service of this kind does not exist within the state. Effort of this kind should result in toning up the quality of personnel both in the state and in local units.

It has been the prevailing custom to use city agencies for practice work both because schools of social work and colleges which offer education in social work are located in cities, and because city agencies usually afford better opportunity for close supervision. The state welfare department should bring the need for rural workers and for experience in rural work to the attention of the schools and should also assist in recruiting students from rural and small town areas to take courses in social work. It should be willing to lend its assistance in arranging for the establishment of a rural practice center in cooperation with a proper school of social work.

Some state universities are willing to accept without tuition members of the staff of a state department and their students in training, in return for the privilege of sending their own advanced students to the department for supervision in the practice of case work. Where such a cooperative scheme for training has been set up, it is possible to provide some training for local workers already engaged, which is always a better policy than setting up new schools of social work.

The following methods, which are now being used, are not satisfactory substitutes for full-time case work education, but merely devices for stimulating local workers who do not realize their need for training:

Summer institutes at the state university, followed by some supervision in the field from the state department of welfare

Study courses in conjunction with the state welfare conference, usually on days preceding or following the annual meeting, with persons of national standing who are to be used on the conference program as teachers

Correspondence courses under the educational direction of the state welfare department, followed up by visits to the student in the field and occasional supervision on the job

Several weeks spent in the state welfare department

observing the staff where they are doing case work, followed by occasional supervisory visits to the worker in her own field.

A summer course at the state university has been developed by the state department in Alabama for county workers, thirty students were enrolled in the summer of 1930. This summer course combines group discussion and field work and is a most important feature of the state department's educational program.

Every county worker in Alabama was called in to attend, at state expense, a two-day institute during which there was a review of the development of the state department and the county child welfare boards, and the relationship between these two agencies. The health department was brought in to discuss its program with the welfare workers, and the best means of correlating the two programs in a county was considered. Agencies, working with crippled children and the blind, the farm and home demonstration agencies, and representatives from the educational field, discussed their programs with the county welfare workers. The two days were spent defining the work of the state welfare department and having the other groups define their work to the welfare workers. Finally, round-table discussions were held to discuss how these groups might fit in their plans with those of the welfare department.

The state board in cooperation with the University of North Carolina, holds an annual institute of a week's duration each summer at the university. The program is planned for a short period of intensive study. The institute is primarily for county superintendents of public welfare, who are required to attend, but other social workers and persons interested in social work are invited. A special effort is made to secure the attendance of judges of the juvenile court and institutional workers, when topics of special interest to them are to be discussed. A similar institute is held annually for Negro workers at one of the state educational institutions for Negroes.

For many years, Ohio has conducted study courses preliminary to the state welfare conference. A five dollar fee which covers the conference registration is charged each registrant. The course lasts three days and includes six two-hour sessions. In 1930 eight courses were given in the following fields: elementary case work; advanced case work for executives; mothers' aid administration; work with unmarried mothers; child placing; legal aid; institutional management; and parent education.

For several summers, a week's institute on different phases of child care has been given at the Ohio State University with the state department arranging the course of study and the registration of students. Thirty child placing agents attended during the summer of 1929. One year the institute was held for juvenile court probation officers; another year for school attendance officers. The bureau of child care in the state department also gives practice training for senior and graduate students in Ohio colleges.

The Massachusetts Department of Public Welfare conducts a training course which has given an opportunity to educate each year some fifteen or more agents or representatives of local boards of public welfare, as well as representatives of private agencies and the department's visitors. It has stimulated local public opinion and has extended to training courses in other cities, which are operated by the department in cooperation with local social workers' organizations. These training courses have also strengthened the *esprit de corps* of the department's own staff.

Several state departments have attempted to develop correspondence courses for probation officers or for institutional workers, but lack of time on the part of staff members has so far prevented an expansion of this activity.

Financial Problems

Equalization of opportunity for children has been recognized as a function of the state in education and public health, and it should be extended to the public welfare field.

The community with least wealth and leadership often is in most need of social service.

An important new method by which a state may promote sound social work is by granting aid to districts in need. The principle of equalization by the state is as applicable to welfare work as to schools. Few states have as yet undertaken it but a beginning has been made in the grants for mothers' aid previously mentioned, and in the care of the blind and the crippled.

Alabama, through its State Department of Education and county welfare boards, has worked out an interesting plan of supplying its counties with funds that may be used for welfare work as well as for school attendance.

The Ohio legislature, recognizing that skilful orthopedic treatment of crippled children was impossible to obtain in many rural counties, in 1919 passed a crippled children's act, whereby state and county funds are combined to secure the most modern orthopedic surgery and treatment. Ohio has no state institution for crippled children but employs orthopedic nurses to discover and bring to treatment crippled children from every one of the eighty-eight counties. The state advances the money to pay for medical care by the nearest of the sixty or more approved orthopedic surgeons in the state, in any one of thirty approved hospitals. The county later reimburses the state for hospital and doctor's fees.

State, county, and local communities jointly finance the crippled children's movement in New Jersey. The Crippled Children's Commission, created to study the distribution and condition of crippled children in the state, was appointed by the state legislature, and is financed by state funds. The County Board of Freeholders is authorized by law to appropriate \$30,000 or any part thereof, annually, for the care and treatment, within or outside the county, of crippled children residing in each county. Local school districts and the state department of education share in the cost of providing special classes, home-teaching, transportation, and so forth, for cripples.

Several states have under consideration legislation to permit state subsidies to county units for the employment of qualified social workers. This is similar to the arrangement by which state and federal funds are available to assist in the employment of county agricultural agents, home demonstration agents, and in some states, public health nurses and health commissioners.

CREATING PUBLIC OPINION

Welfare departments are commonly charged with the duty of issuing reports concerning the socially handicapped. The attempt to give meaning to this material has opened the way to broader fields of constructive and preventive activities. A department cannot perform its task by itself. The measure of its success lies in the degree of understanding and cooperation which it marshals in the ranks of social workers, and perhaps in an even larger degree, of the general public.

The state department is in a strategic position to bring home to the general public the principles of social welfare and the share which all must take in its promotion. By its own publications and reports, by issuing standards of child welfare and manuals of service and making available such material issued by other agencies, by well directed publicity in newspapers and periodicals, and by word of mouth, it can bind together public and private agencies, professional and more general organizations, and the general community, into a coherent, well organized vehicle for the protection of all children.

Conferences

Certain types of conferences have already been suggested as means of promoting local interest in community conditions, but a number of states have made a much wider use of conference methods. Close relationship is frequently to be found between state departments and state conferences of social work. Where the latter conduct regional or special conferences between the annual sessions of the larger

groups, the departments usually do not duplicate their activities. Some state departments have initiated state conferences and then wisely resigned their leadership to a university, or instituted cooperation with it.

The district or local conference may be useful in either of two ways. It may serve as a meeting ground for social workers in different or allied fields, to exchange information, to create solidarity and morale, and to develop standards, or it may be a meeting ground for the social worker and the lay citizen. In Pennsylvania, it is designed primarily to reach the workers in the child caring field; while in Ohio, it is primarily for interested laymen.

Since its earliest days the Pennsylvania Bureau of Children has held regional and local conferences. These generally have been in the form of four or five local intercounty conferences during each non-legislative season, to which the various organizations in a group of neighboring counties are invited to discuss questions of particular import in child welfare. There have also been a series of summer institutes of three days each chiefly for institutional workers, since these workers are often situated in remote spots and have few opportunities for participation in conferences on questions affecting their work.

From time to time the bureau has held conferences on special problems involving the care of crippled children throughout the state, the licensing of infant boarding homes and administration of this work, and the situation in maternity homes. As a result of the series of conferences on the care of the crippled child, the orthopedic unit of the bureau of children was organized to supervise crippled children, to conduct state subsidized clinics in various outlying centers, and to handle the problems presented by crippled children in many and various ways.

Representatives from the health departments in first, second, and third class cities, as well as others who are directly involved attended a conference on the licensing of infant boarding homes. As a result many administrative details were revised.

Several years ago a conference on maternity homes outlined standards for such homes, and, at the 1929 session of the state legislature, through the efforts of the bureau, and after consultations with those involved, a new maternity hospital law was passed requiring the licensing of such hospitals in all but first and second class cities.

In Ohio, district conferences have been used to interpret social work and particularly case work to the churches, the men's service clubs, the parent teachers' associations, the women's clubs and other community organizations. Talks are given on such subjects as, *What Is a Social Worker?*, *What Is Case Work?*, *The Function of the Juvenile Court*, *The Place of the Children's Home*, and *Keeping Families Together*. The conference is arranged by a local committee, lunch is provided by some women's group, and plenty of time is allowed for questions and discussion. Dramatic dialogue and poster exhibits enliven the all day meetings.

Conferences are frequently called by the New Jersey commissioner of institutions and agencies, dealing with such problems as medical treatment, correctional discipline, special educational work, special vocational and industrial pursuits, moral training, and so forth. Conferences of this type often result in the formation of a permanent committee or commission intended to carry the recommendations into effect. If necessary, the commission is created by act of legislature, endowed with authority and supported by an appropriation, as is the crippled children's commission.

At one time the New York Department of Social Welfare conducted frequent regional conferences for institutional workers. It was found, however, that there was such a diversity of interest among these workers that the regional conferences were abandoned. The department of social welfare finds at present that it is much more satisfactory to call special conferences serving a limited area. These group meetings usually grow out of requests from an individual or an organization for advice or service.

Publicity Methods

The social worker of the past has felt that he could bury himself, ostrich like, in his job and expect his good work to speak for itself. He has compared himself to the doctor whose ethics do not permit him to advertise. But while neither doctors nor social workers may advertise to attract attention to themselves, the social worker and at least the public health doctor, are duty bound constantly to make known the causes of disorder and their unfortunate results, and should learn to do so in the most effective way possible.

The social worker has much to learn from the advertising expert, who knows that his appeal to the public will be successful only if it is oft repeated, tersely put, attractively illustrated, and easily understood. The vast sums spent annually on commercial advertising testify to its efficacy. The difference between educational publicity and advertising might be expressed as one of aim rather than in method. The advertiser writes to stimulate immediate sale of concrete articles in order to increase personal profit. The social worker writes to create an unselfish, sympathetic appreciation of others' needs, to invite a long distance investment in a point of view or philosophy.

The monthly news-letter with a large circulation is perhaps the most recently developed method of disseminating information. These bulletins, of course, vary in scope, appearance, and interest, but their possibilities for usefulness are enormous, and it is to be hoped that they will be widely recognized as a desirable vehicle for departmental communications. They may be issued regularly or only occasionally, and developed inexpensively, perhaps in mimeographed form, each issue possibly dealing with current situations of general interest to the social worker, public official, or taxpayer.

Georgia has issued a series of mimeographed news-letters with case stories attractively illustrated and written in popular style. A leaflet called *Grandmother, Mother,*

Jane, and Jim, published by the Georgia State Department, has been widely copied. It shows a series of cartoons, one set illustrating what distress occurs in a county without a social worker and the other what good fortune follows from the employment of a social worker who prevents the family being broken up and saves the expense of having them cared for in institutions.

A very effective publication which the Massachusetts Department of Public Welfare uses for stimulating public opinion is a single typewritten sheet of five or six paragraphs, so short that it is likely to be read, and multigraphed so as to resemble letter type. This publication is entitled *The News About the Department*. Statistical material is used occasionally in the bulletin, but in a simplified form, giving only one or two statistical facts not in the form of a table.

Only a few states at the present time are employing full-time publicity directors, largely due to lack of funds. While it is desirable that more specialists should be employed, it would be unfortunate if their employment resulted in relieving the rest of the welfare staff from thinking in terms of public education and of preparing material on the basis of their experience in specialized fields of social work. Every member of the staff of a state department should feel a responsibility for the education of some part of the public, not only to provide more adequate child care and protection, but to prevent recurrence of social disorders.

Private agencies, especially those organized in community chests, have gone far ahead of public departments in developing skill and effectiveness in publicity; perhaps because they have been able to afford publicity directors with special training. The development of more attractive state reports and pamphlet material has also often been held back by the necessity of using state printeries and prison labor. If more effective publicity is to be obtained, the persons employed as publicity experts should themselves have been social workers. It seems easier for the intelligent social worker to acquire newspaper and publicity training than for the person trained in newspaper work to acquire the social

work experience necessary to interpret the underlying social attitudes, philosophy, and technique. Greater use of the right kind of newspaper publicity certainly ought to be made.

State appropriations are rigid affairs, and usually the budget for printing is totally inadequate. For this reason many state welfare departments report that few original publications can be issued. The need, however, is generally recognized of popularly written and easily distributable literature on vital topics.

Pamphlets on pertinent subjects are written wherever possible by state department staffs, but lack of time as well as limited funds restricts the number of bulletins so written. Few departments have realized the possibility of gaining the cooperation of private agencies in having these pamphlets written by experts outside the state department. In almost every state there are persons well qualified to write interestingly on various topics relating to child welfare. Some state departments have found it possible, either through the payment of a small honorarium, or by appeal to their interest in serving the state, to have them write leaflets which the department staff may have neither the time nor the technical knowledge to issue on its own responsibility. It matters little, in the last analysis, if these articles are printed by the state or by interested private agencies, as long as the material is made available to children's workers in the state.

The Pennsylvania Bureau of Children reports that they have used this method several times. A pamphlet on *Standards of Day Nursery Care*, another on *Some Undesirable Habits and Suggestions for Treatment*, and still another, a handbook for child placing workers called *In Place of a Parent*, have been written for the Pennsylvania Bureau of Children, as the need for this sort of literature has been felt.

The Children's Bureau of Philadelphia released one of its experienced workers to write the handbook, *In Place of a Parent*, and the Public Charities Association of Pennsylvania, a privately supported agency, made itself responsible for a state-wide committee to discuss the principles embodied in the pamphlet.

The New Jersey Department of Institutions and Agencies has established a regular newspaper service and issues frequent news bulletins on the work of the department. Pamphlets have been printed for carrying on educational work in public welfare problems, such as *Handbook of State Institutions and Agencies*, *State and County Welfare Work in New Jersey*, and so forth.

There are a goodly number of manuals on various child caring procedures, handbooks on methods and standards, and suggested record forms, to the credit of state welfare departments. To supplement these, a number of states have developed loan libraries and extensive services for selling at cost or for lending pamphlets that are issued by other organizations. Ingenuity and a real desire on the part of a state department to get needed information into the hands of the public will usually find ways and means to do this.

Practically all the staffs of the 19 state welfare departments which replied to the questionnaire, give public addresses to clubs, church groups, and community organizations. There is also an attempt to get nearer to the man on the street by exhibits and charts shown at county or state fairs. Posters showing what the state's work in child welfare means are also good devices for graphic, popular presentations of welfare work.

The annual report, a method available to all state departments, could be very much better utilized by most of them in educational programs. Usually these reports and other official bulletins are uninteresting in appearance and heavy in style. There is no better method of interpreting the department's work than by issuing annual reports that are vital and capable of presenting a department's work in an interesting light.

Georgia has issued one of its annual reports in popular style and called it *The Human Side of Government*. California's Department of Social Welfare has published special studies in its *Biennial Report*, and has made a definite effort to have the material presented interestingly and attractively. The annual report for 1925 to 1926 of the Bureau of Child

Welfare of New Mexico was brought out in a popular style, the front cover bearing an attractive picture of a child, and the back cover giving an illuminating chart of the state department's structural organization. This type of report makes easy reading.

Use of Voluntary Agencies

Volunteers are being used less and less in actual case work, but there are plenty of opportunities to use them in other ways. The community often has a greater respect for an unpaid leader than for the professional social workers.

Voluntary agencies such as women's clubs, men's service clubs, child study groups, and the like, which are organized for civic purposes, afford excellent opportunities for the dissemination of information and should be encouraged to study and visit public organizations under competent direction. They are often eager to promote some new feature of child welfare work with which they may become identified. Cooperation with them affords the advantages of: ready-made audiences, a membership experienced in organization and trained to follow leadership, enthusiasm for promoting legislative measures, and devotion to an impersonal cause that sometimes makes a deeper impression on the public than the urgency of professional workers. A state department which stimulates the progress and interest of these voluntary groups, must be prepared to carry through with them to the end.

Comparatively few states have utilized women's clubs and men's service organizations as much as they might. New Mexico, North Carolina, Ohio, and Wisconsin all report close cooperation with them, the state welfare departments furnishing study programs or material on the state's welfare needs that the clubs can adapt to their meetings' programs.

STATISTICS

Many otherwise progressive state departments have little real recognition of the value and province of social

statistics. No uniform type of statistics is secured, and no common method used. What one state thinks necessary and practicable in the way of reports from agencies under supervision is considered totally unnecessary and impracticable in another. Perhaps there is not sufficient recognition that good statistics depend on good individual records at the source.

Some clear-cut thought on *why* statistics are gathered at all is needed. When this matter is settled we shall know better what is wanted and how to get it. Following this there may come, but certainly not without conscious effort, a wise use of the material gathered.

The present almost universal practice of publishing annual or biennial reports bound in formidably unattractive volumes, and containing uninterpreted tables of figures, does not stimulate the interest of the man on the street; yet good government is the affair of this man. The reports may be full of valuable reference material, but unless they are readable and in a form for practical use, they are of little value.

There has been in the past far too much collection by state welfare departments of incomplete and poorly planned social statistics. In many states even the most essential and simple facts cannot be gathered successfully from institutions and agencies because the primary records by which such information can be made available are lacking. Collection of such data by a state welfare department must begin with the education of each institution and agency in the state in the principles of social investigation and record keeping. Until this is done, and the organizations, public and private, engaged in various types of child welfare work, have been trained in the essentials of securing and reporting social facts, the information gathered by state welfare departments will be fragmentary and inaccurate. Assistance to institutions and agencies in the methods of investigation and record keeping should have an important place in the educational inspection service rendered by the state. It is a matter that must be handled by first-hand contact and assistance.

Few states have made any adequate use of the data they have collected. Here and there one finds a compilation of the facts obtained from different groups of organizations included in the reporting system, but more often there is little or no attempt at social analysis of the facts presented. The institutions and agencies cooperating with the state welfare department in producing this material are entitled to an interpretation of the facts that they have reported. Properly used, the social facts collected in this way should reveal conditions existing in the various communities in the state and be a means for stimulating interest in more intensive studies in certain areas. By participating not only in the reporting of social facts, but also in their interpretation, the individual institutions and agencies may be made to see that the problem they are dealing with and the care they are providing are but parts of the whole structure of social welfare in the state.

Interpretation of the contribution of each organization is needed to obtain a unified and properly balanced structure of social service. Only a comparatively small number of states have recognized the social meaning of the information received sufficiently to compile and interpret the data in their annual reports.

The collection of data, which in many states has become little more than a mechanical process, must be vitalized. Facts in regard to number and types of children under probationary supervision, the extent and nature of mothers' aid, and the numbers and types of children under various forms of institutional or family home care, are of little importance in themselves, but they form the background for the study of the character of the problems that appear in the various communities and the way in which they are being dealt with by different organizations. They present a state-wide picture of social and economic conditions, and they reflect the resources of the communities and the use that is made of various forms of care, and point to the need and the practicability of preventive measures.

SOCIAL LEGISLATION

There is much activity to be found on the part of welfare departments in formulating statutes touching on a department's own program of social legislation. Occasionally the department calls other public and private workers into conference either to start the ball rolling or to get their viewpoint.

As financial appropriations and the field of work for public agencies are increased, the question of a state's attitude toward social legislation increases in importance. The state department, as trustee for the interests of the children of the state, has an obligation to promote its budget and to furnish the facts relative to any legislative program of state-wide significance. The department's obligation to ask the legislature to correct technical discrepancies in the laws, or to make such changes as will result in more efficient administration of the work which previous legislatures have assigned to it is equally undebatable.

On the other hand, if social progress seems to demand the acceptance of new principles not hitherto recognized in the statutes, the function of the state department would seem to be that of educator rather than lobbyist. It is not in keeping with the spirit of social service for a welfare department to lobby for new principles which have not been explained to the public or at least to the voluntary agencies which are regarded as spokesmen for that part of the public likely to be interested. The enforcement of any new law is far easier to accomplish if the people themselves, having been furnished the facts, made to see the need, and inspired to correct the wrong, are left to organize their own interest, and do the actual work of securing the legislative enactment themselves.

If public social services had been organized according to principles of efficient administration and if there were some such guide as is supplied in business by the profit balance sheet, proposals for change in structure and function would emerge from a study of the records and accounts, and the annual reports would be a guide toward sound development.

Such use of the report, however, postulates comprehensive, accurate and intelligent records, a sound system of cost accounting, and the possibility of frank discussion of failures as well as of successes in the experience of the period under examination. Such a system of recording and reporting is rarely found, and under the present partisan organization of state and local government, a discussion of failure is often out of the question.

Radical changes in recent decades in the laws governing families, especially parent and child, and consequent changes in the relations between father and mother with reference to the child and the relation between the parent and the community with reference to the standards of parental care, have often been made in an accidental and haphazard fashion. On this account it has seemed necessary to set up special committees or commissions to review the situation, to reduce the chaos of the law to some order and to formulate a program of advance for the state.

By the end of 1923, such commissions had been set up in 29 states and the District of Columbia.¹ Since 1923, commissions have been authorized in 8 more states, California, Illinois, Maryland, New Jersey, Oklahoma, Rhode Island, and by the Governor in Massachusetts and Wyoming (continued by the legislature in Massachusetts). These commissions have been given different forms and different degrees of authority, and have met with varying degrees of success in their attempts to secure a revision of the law relating to the care of children. Much depends, of course, on the extent to which they are able not only to interpret the law in the light of modern social needs, but to carry with them influential groups connected with the legal and medical profession and with the party organizations which are always timid in the face of proposals looking toward reorganization of services with the possible abolition of positions that have served in the past to strengthen partisan organization.

¹ U. S. Children's Bureau. *State Commissions for the Study and Revision of Child-Welfare Laws*. Washington, D. C., Govt. Print. Off., 1924, Pub. No. 131.

With the development of closer relations between the state and the local authorities and of sound recording and accounting, the state welfare officials should be able to offer constant guidance to the legislature and to the people of the state, suggesting always the goal toward which the services should move but adjusting their proposals to the economical and political situation of the moment. In connection with such proposals relationships might be established with the judicial councils in states in which these councils take a broad view of their task. Expert service in the drafting of laws and the interpretation of the proposed legislation on its technical side can be obtained from the legislative reference bureau, where one has been set up. Often the constitutional aspects of proposals for change should be considered, and on such questions advice may be secured from the members of the legislative reference bureau staff.

A bureau of research in a state welfare department is quite as important in pointing the way to progress in state government as a bureau of municipal research can be in city government. There are several states with many municipal research bureaus, but few with state bureaus. Leadership in the state department may perhaps be stimulated by demonstration of research in welfare problems by a state-wide private agency.

Several states, such as Illinois, Iowa, and Ohio, have bureaus for juvenile research. There is, however, danger of their yielding to the intense pressure for child guidance and losing their research functions. These bureaus have already gathered more material than they have had time to digest and interpret to the public. It is to be hoped that the development of local and itinerant child guidance clinics will ultimately relieve the pressure upon these state bureaus for advice in concrete cases and allow them time for developing some principles of practice that will be of benefit to all.

The California Department of Social Welfare and the New Jersey Department of Institutions and Agencies maintain research divisions which have proved of great value.

The Ohio Institute is a unique bureau for research in

state administration. It is called "a private body with a public purpose," because it is privately financed, but devoted to governmental research. It has made special studies, in the field of child welfare, of school attendance and administration of the child labor law; probation under the juvenile court, and administration of mothers' pensions; the need of centralization with state supervision in county relief work.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Promotion of progressive programs of social work should be as much the responsibility of a state welfare department as is supervision of work already established.

2. A state welfare department should assume responsibility for promoting family work in local communities as a corollary of its program to provide for dependent children outside their own homes, because family welfare work is recognized as one of the best means of preventing dependency among children.

3. A state welfare department should stimulate interest in the employment of qualified persons with professional standing by all child caring agencies, especially by local units of public welfare.

4. The relation of the state welfare department to a state conference of social work should be intimate and helpful, but it is not wise for the state department to control the conference.

5. A state welfare department should not only prepare and distribute record forms, but, by personal supervision of record keeping in both public and private agencies, should endeavor to obtain uniform statistics of a high type.

6. Furthermore, it should be responsible for the interpretation of social statistics within the state, and should build a state consciousness among local units on the universal problems of social work.

7. A state welfare department should recognize the importance of the preparation of annual and biennial reports as a means of interpreting social data.

8. A state welfare department should assume the responsibility, not only for distributing literature relating to vital topics printed under other auspices, but also for the preparation of manuals and handbooks on child caring procedures.

9. A state welfare department should seek the cooperation of voluntary agencies with civic programs because they afford excellent vehicles for disseminating education in social work, and should encourage these agencies to study and visit public agencies and institutions before they endorse legislation.

10. Because a state welfare department occupies a strategic position through its powers of inspection and supervision and has knowledge of conditions throughout the state, it should (1) be prepared to act as a source of information and advice to the legislature on the merits of existing or proposed welfare legislation; (2) seek to secure adequate appropriations for public welfare work, including items for expert service in organization and evaluation; (3) promote legislation that will result in efficient administration of those principles of social justice which have been written previously into the statutes. When need arises for legislation based on new principles, however, the function of the state should be that of educator rather than lobbyist.

INTERSTATE PROBLEMS

LACK OF UNIFORM LEGISLATION

FROM whatever angle the subject of public child welfare service is approached, it becomes clear that unsatisfactory results may be expected until certain aspects of our governmental organizations have been changed. The sources of child distress may be local, they may be due to some deficiency in state organization, they may find their origin in national conditions or in international relationships. Clearly, while the right of migration is granted so that individuals may move from locality to locality, and the right of investment and industrial organization makes it possible for employers to offer inducements in the form of work and wages and then to withdraw those advantages as pecuniary profit dictates, the problem of the migrant family, in which there may be children, or of the migrant individual who may be a child, will present to public social agencies the difficulties connected with the attempt to serve those who are not residents of the community. In cases of interstate migration difficulties in treatment arise from the several states' requirements of definite residence terms before extending aid. Moreover, social treatment, resting as it does on the necessity of adequate investigation, is always more difficult and less secure when the investigation must be made by correspondence.

In considering these questions of interstate relations, it becomes increasingly clear that the application of modern principles of adequate treatment will probably become possible only when two developments clearly indicated by the

Note: Report of Subcommittee on Interstate Problems of Public Child Welfare, Loraine B. Tunstall, Chairman.

material presented in the following pages have occurred, namely: the creation in every commonwealth of a state authority able to deal with the local jurisdictions, where there appears a conflict of interest, to adjust their difficulties and to supplement their services; the development of a federal agency able to assist the states, to serve as arbiter between them when there seems a conflict of interests, and, above all, to supplement their services, and to develop among the state authorities a wider agreement as to the principles on which decisions should be based.

The possibility of one state's undertaking to enforce obligations growing out of judicial action in another state has already been contemplated. Suggestions in accordance with such a plan are embodied in Section 34 of the so-called *Uniform Illegitimacy Act* proposed by the Commissioners on Uniform Laws.

An analysis of the statutory provisions which regulate settlement, interstate placements, and adoptions outside the state reveal the lack of uniform legislation, the general absence of state comity, and the desirability of an agency able to serve as arbiter in matters involving interstate responsibility in the care of dependent and delinquent groups. Unfortunately, these laws are like the old poor laws in that they place less emphasis upon the protection of those in distress than upon safeguarding the community against the cost of adequate care. As a rule each community tries to shift the burden from its own shoulders if possible, so that the question of the easiest means of securing the money is more apt to determine a policy than the question of the best means of meeting the need.

SETTLEMENT

The law of settlement is either a portion of the poor law or closely related to it. *Settlement*, which means a right under the statute to relief from public funds, should be distinguished from *residence* on which settlement usually depends and from *domicile*, which is the relation between an

individual and the jurisdiction in which certain legal relationships exist. Residence refers to personal presence in a fixed and permanent, as against a temporary, home. Domicile has implications of an even more permanent relationship between the individual and the jurisdiction; it is where the law acts upon the individual. A wife takes the domicile, residence, or settlement of her husband, and the legitimate child takes the domicile, residence, or settlement of his father. If the father is dead, the child may take the domicile, residence, or settlement of his mother.¹ Ordinarily, settlement, or the right to relief, follows upon a residence of a prescribed period. These periods vary in the different states. It is probably worth while to summarize the laws on this subject, in effect at the present time, though it should be kept in mind that the practice in any state is affected by interpretations given by the attorney general or other legal adviser, and that settlement means not only the right of the applicant to receive, but the justification on the part of the poor-law official to give the relief sought:

Summary of Laws

The laws of settlement found in the states differ greatly.² In 5 states only a brief period of residence is necessary under the statute. In Nebraska one month is required, in Montana and Colorado two, and in Oregon and Wyoming three months. Six months' continuous residence is required in Alabama, Kansas, Mississippi, Nevada, Oklahoma, and Washington. A residence of one year is the most general requirement, appearing in the statutes of 22 states (Arkansas, California, Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South

¹ See for example, Cleveland, F. A. *American Citizenship as Distinguished from Alien Status*. New York, Ronald Press Company, 1927, pp. 47, 48.

² Donnell, Charlotte C., "Laws Regarding Settlement in Connection with the Problem of Interstate Relationship under a Federal System." *Social Service Review*, Vol. IV, September, 1930. pp. 427-51.

Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Virginia, West Virginia, Wisconsin). Seven states have a considerably longer residence requirement for settlement. South Carolina and Vermont require three years; Maine, Massachusetts, and New Jersey, five years; New Hampshire, seven years, and Rhode Island, ten years.

In some states there are other qualifications besides residence. In Connecticut, for example, a vote of recognition by the selectmen or the town is required in addition to the year's residence; in Delaware there is a small property qualification in addition; in Tennessee a year is required, but the only relief allowed is admission to the county poor farm; and the Texas statute does not follow the usual rule of giving the settled person a legal claim on relief, but says that the county overseers "may" provide relief for a person resident for one year. New Hampshire includes in the requirements the paying of a poll tax each year during the period of residence. New Jersey and Ohio add a requirement that, during the period of residence the person shall be able to get along without aid from private sources as well as without public relief.

Seven states (Arizona, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Kentucky, Louisiana, New Mexico) and the District of Columbia have no specific provision as to the period necessary for acquiring settlement, but usually allow public relief to "residents" or "inhabitants" of the state or district. Thirty-two other states (Arkansas, Colorado, Delaware, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, South Dakota, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Wyoming) make provisions for relief of the non-settled or non-resident poor, mainly on an emergency or temporary basis. Eight states (Alabama, California, Connecticut, Indiana, New Jersey, Oregon, Tennessee, Texas) either have made no provision, or have made none for non-residents who become destitute within the year.

In most of the statutes provision regarding the loss of settlement is lacking, and it is generally understood that once a legal settlement is gained in a county or state it is lost only when the person acquires settlement in some other town or county in the same state or in another state.

Certain states, however, rule that settlement is lost if the individual has left the original state with the "intention" of making a permanent home elsewhere, in other words, if he changes his residence. Such a regulation results in great human suffering since the state of an individual's previous residence may consider him to have forfeited his claim for relief there before he has established settlement in a new state.

A minor, as has been pointed out, takes the settlement of the father if he is settled within the state; if not, then of the mother. A minor child rarely establishes a settlement of his own. When residence or other conditions must be fulfilled, the question arises as to what happens to a non-resident person who falls into distress. Emergency relief will be given, in cases of acute need, but perhaps, the jurisdiction of settlement will be expected to pay all expenses, and if the money is not forthcoming, the authorities are often given the power of removal. Relief in the form of transportation to the boundaries of the jurisdiction, at least, will be furnished. This often is a very brutal and inhuman method of dealing with individuals in distress, but illustrations of its practice are not difficult to find, and not even children are exempt from the hardships incident to such a program of public relief.

The right of one state to remove a non-settled person to the state of his settlement is therefore an important feature of interstate relationships. Fourteen states (Arizona, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Missouri, New Mexico, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Wisconsin) have no provision for the removal of paupers, and there is great lack of uniformity in the statutes of those states that authorize removal. There is greater uniformity in the provisions, and so in the practice, of deportation of

non-resident poor who are in institutions than of those who present problems of simple destitution.

Relation of Public and Private Agencies

Difficult problems as to the relationships between public and private agencies arise from the needs of non-resident destitute persons. Private agencies can, of course, render certain services that public agencies are not authorized to render. Their policies and their funds are more flexible. In one state, accordingly, private agencies often find it necessary to undertake the care of unsettled persons from other states, pending a decision concerning the best method of treatment. This decision sometimes indicates that it is against the interests of children involved to deport them to the state from which they came. In such a case the private agency carries the burden of the support of the individual or family.

Such a policy is, of course, highly desirable, provided the public authorities assent to the plan. Obviously, modern social work standards cannot allow the question of who should pay to determine issues of human welfare, but private agencies should be very careful not to increase the difficulties of public authorities by extending aid to individuals long enough for them to establish local residence and then dropping them on the public agency for further care.

Illustrative Problems

Seasonal Migration. Serious problems in health, education, and delinquency arise in the case of children in the transient or migrant family. The various seasonal activities drawing thousands of families from one section of the country to another, have created very great difficulties. Whereas some of this migration is within the borders of one state, much of it is interstate. The fruit and vegetable growing in California, the beet fields in Colorado, Michigan, and Minnesota, the cranberries of New Jersey, and the canneries in many other states, offer some of the seasonal occupations

that keep certain types of families and certain racial groups migratory.¹

The transitory nature of the labor makes it seem unprofitable for the employers to offer satisfactory housing and the result is a problem in public health and morals. Migratory families also carry communicable diseases from one state to another. And the health of children who are themselves employed in agriculture or industrial activities is undermined.

The question of the education and school attendance of children in these families is perplexing. The state to which a temporary occupation has drawn the family does not feel itself responsible to provide schooling for transient children, and consequently many children scarcely ever attend school.

Delinquency among the children of these transient and migrant non-resident families often involves interstate relationships, because the children may be committed to institutions or paroled from them. Delinquency also occurs among transient children without families and presents problems of treatment.

Special Racial Groups. New problems have developed within recent years with the influx from Porto Rico, the migrant Mexican in California and in other sections where certain industries prevail, and the migration of Negroes from southern to northern states. The Mexicans are generally aliens and so present a problem in conflict of settlement as between nations rather than between states. The migration of Porto Ricans is limited to certain areas and is a matter of special concern to those areas rather than a general problem. The Filipinos in the United States have few children, but the migrant Negro groups present a problem of great interest from the point of view of interstate relations.

The increase that occurred in ten years, in six cities, is shown in the following table obtained from the National Urban League:

¹ *Child Labor.* A Publication of the White House Conference. New York, The Century Co., 1932.

STATE ORGANIZATION

City	Negro population		Per cent increase
	1910	1920	1910-20
Chicago.....	44,103	109,458	148.2
New York City.....	91,709	152,467	66.3
Cleveland, Ohio.....	8,448	34,451	307.8
Detroit, Michigan.....	5,741	40,838	611.3
Philadelphia.....	84,459	134,339	58.9
St. Louis, Missouri.....	43,980	69,854	58.9

From these figures it appears that between 1910 and 1920 the Negro population trebled in Chicago, more than quadrupled in Cleveland, increased by almost 60 per cent in Philadelphia and St. Louis, by 66 per cent in New York, and in Detroit increased from 5,741 to 40,838. There are no such uniformly exact figures for the period since 1920. The increase is known, however, in a few cities and in others may be estimated with reasonable accuracy.

Just how many of these Negroes became dependent, and required support from the communities in which they settled, cannot be determined. It is well known, however, that social agencies were increasingly burdened with the needs of the newcomers. Health and dependency problems, questions of delinquency and school attendance, were all brought to the fore. Some of the problems involved were the lack of facilities in the north for the care of children becoming dependent and delinquent there, the serious ethical problem of sending dependents back to the states from which they came, where facilities are even less adequate; and the lack of funds from either public or private sources for the transportation of those for whom return to their own states was shown by good case work to be the proper procedure.

It is obvious that such problems will not be adequately solved until the states from which these Negro immigrants came improve the conditions causing such migration, and recognize the social needs of the Negro. All of these states should, as rapidly as possible, undertake social work programs for the Negro similar to those that have already been instituted in some southern states, and, until such programs are developed, agencies in the northern states should equip themselves, through private funds, to try to meet the prob-

lems or needs of such migrants as have already arrived. These should, of course, be dealt with on a careful case work basis, and should be accepted only after consultation with the public agency on which the cost of support may ultimately fall.

Auto Migrants. Travelers' Aid Societies throughout the United States have had called to their attention many problems relating to the transportation between states of children and young people. There are now more people traveling by motor vehicles than by trains. Many young people or children, with or without their parents, start on long journeys across the country by motor bus, since this mode of travel is cheaper than railway transportation, and pay their fare for the full journey in advance. Very frequently, after the bus has reached another state, the passengers disembark for a meal or to stay overnight, and are told that the bus will pick them up at a certain time; but it does not return and they are left stranded, penniless, friendless and often in a desert town or place where there is no one to give adequate help. Hitch-hiking, or begging their way back to their starting place or onwards to another city, they finally come to the attention of a travelers' aid society. Then it appears that the motor bus company cannot be prosecuted. It is actually carrying on interstate commerce but is not subject to the Interstate Commerce Commission, since motor vehicles are not common carriers under the law.¹

Two cities in the south, through which there is constant travel, point out that many parents leave children to be cared for temporarily by some individual or institution, sometimes making payment for the temporary service, but never returning to claim their children.

Physically Incapacitated Parents. Health resort communities like Asheville and Denver, and cities and towns in Arizona, New Mexico, and Southern California, are swamped with non-resident dependents. Sometimes it is impossible to discover to what community a family belongs,

¹ *Interstate Transit Co. v. Derr et al.*, 71 Mont. 222 (1924) U. S. C. A. 49, No. 1.

or the intention of the family to change its residence, even though a very short period of time has elapsed since it left home, is so construed by the state of origin that it does not accept it as a proper charge. The need of a national program in these instances seems obvious, both to relieve the burdens of communities known to be health resorts, and to deal justly with the families involved.

Parents Charged with Crime. Families of persons charged with crime present problems of two types: where a man, who is a fugitive from justice, thinks himself safe in a certain state, sends for his family from another state, and his family is brought to the attention of a social agency through poverty or non-attendance of the children at school; where a non-resident is convicted of a crime and sentenced to jail or prison in a state in which he is not a resident, so that his children become dependent.

Beggars' Families. Children exploited by adults who beg usually have no settlement, or their settlement is very difficult to determine. Even when a good social investigation has revealed the place of residence and indicated a plan for return, it is difficult to induce the community to take the responsibility. On the other hand, the communities into which such a family goes feel no sense of responsibility because the family is one of the group of "floaters," and usually encourage the family to move on. Every new community into which they come must choose between the expense of returning them to their place of residence, of moving them on again, or of giving them adequate care. Someone has well said that: "Such cases are perhaps the most discouraging of all intercounty or interstate problems and a more definite joint responsibility for the child between the state and the local community of settlement that would take on a parental aspect is apparently the only method of salvaging him."

Orphans or Half-Orphans. The importance of residence in determining the care of widows' families is becoming increasingly evident from the provisions in the mothers' aid laws in the various states. Many restrictions as to the

beneficiaries under these laws complicate the granting of relief to families even though they are returned to the state of legal settlement. For example, the state of New Jersey has a mothers' pension law requiring the family to be resident in the state for five years prior to the death of the father; the law of the state of New York requires that the family must be resident a year prior to the death of the father. If a woman moves from New York, where she has a settlement to New Jersey and lives there for a year, she thereby loses her claim on New York State, but does not gain settlement in New Jersey, and cannot be cared for under the widows' aid statute.

Unmarried Mothers. One of the most difficult problems involving non-residence is that of the unmarried mother and her child. Many such mothers ask aid in large cities, especially where those cities are near the borders of the state. Dealing with these situations involves not only laws of settlement but laws regulating interstate placement of children and laws relating to determination of paternity and enforcing support.

It is easy to understand why so many cases are found in the cities. A desire for secrecy leads many girls to go away from home and to seek employment, hospitalization, and care for their children in a neighboring state. The more adequate medical, hospital, and child caring facilities in large cities often attract girls from neighboring rural sections in their own and other states, and sometimes the presence of a commercial maternity home that advertises for patients and promises immediate adoption of children attracts girls to a community.

A few states have sought to deal with the problem of children born out of wedlock by legislation prohibiting the separation of mothers and infants under a period of several months, or by requiring registration and state supervision of unmarried mothers and their children. Maryland and North Carolina have laws, and Minnesota and Alabama have state regulations, relating to the separation of mothers and babies. Minnesota and Wisconsin require registration and supervi-

sion of unmarried mothers and their children. Some states already have restrictive legislation prohibiting commercial maternity homes from advertising and also prohibiting the advertising of children for adoption. Although these provisions have definitely helped to control the easy giving away for adoption of children born out of wedlock, they have not wholly solved the problem of migratory unmarried mothers. A number of girls illegitimately pregnant leave these states for confinement elsewhere.

The Commissioners on Uniform Laws have drafted a proposed uniform law governing the subject of the child born out of wedlock and five states (Iowa, Nevada, New Mexico, North Dakota, South Dakota) have adopted this law. It is improbable, however, that complete uniformity will ever be realized, since state statutes, especially in the older states, are of long standing and many of them are connected with local conditions and historical developments. It is therefore highly desirable that a federal agency, preferably the Federal Children's Bureau, be enabled to render assistance and reduce the chaos to some degree of order.

Unmarried mothers present special difficulties from a case work point of view, when more than one state is involved. One of the important services to be rendered the unmarried mother and her child is the determination of the child's paternity and securing support of the child. If the child is born in another state from that of the mother's legal residence, the difficulty of establishing paternity is greatly increased. Many private agencies content themselves with inadequate social investigations and accept cases from another state with no thought of securing support for the child or of future arrangements for the mother's care. These expenses will eventually be forced on the public and private charity of the community where they do not belong. While there should never be an automatic return of unmarried mothers and children born out of wedlock to their community of residence, every effort should be made to see that the local agencies in their home communities take up the problem of planning for both mother and child, and that the

principles of the Transportation Agreement are definitely applied. In this, as in other situations involving interstate relations, the development of a national agency with a comprehensive national service is strongly indicated.

The Mentally Deficient. Interstate action in the care of the mentally deficient is complicated by inadequate organization of such care within the states themselves, and inadequate provision of resources for the care and treatment of their own wards. Centralized state control of the mentally deficient and consequent simplification of interstate relationships concerning their care is less developed than centralized control of the mentally ill. On the other hand, it must be acknowledged that centralization in this field is further advanced than in the care of the destitute, neglected, or delinquent.

Since few states have adequate institutional facilities for the care of the feeble-minded, and long waiting lists for admission of resident children to state institutions are common in every state, it is extremely difficult to have a mentally deficient child transferred from the state in which he is found, but where he has no settlement, to the institution of the state where he belongs.

Moreover, the inadequacy of community provision for the supervision of children not in institutions makes it impossible to deport a mentally deficient child with any assurance that he will receive supervisory treatment in the community to which he is sent. The problem of the non-institutional type of mental deficient, therefore, becomes generally involved with the whole problem of unsettled non-resident persons, and the final disposition of the child's case rests on the action of the poor-law authorities in the place of the child's settlement. This means more confusion and possible neglect of his need.

The Delinquent. The technical plea of non-residence usually is not raised in the case of the delinquent child who requires public care. If such a child is apprehended in the community where his parents reside, either temporarily or permanently, he is usually provided for in accordance with

the circumstances of the case without regard to technical considerations of residence or settlement. If, however, the family is planning to return immediately to another community and the child does not seem to require institutional care, he may be allowed to go with his parents, contacts sometimes being made with agencies in the community to which the family is returning.

A more serious problem relates to children who have run away from home or who have come to a city in search of employment, and either commit some offense for which they are apprehended or are picked up as runaways. In most jurisdictions the courts are reluctant to accept any permanent responsibility for the care and treatment of these children. Sometimes, however, they are committed to institutions. When it is time for them to be paroled, serious problems arise inasmuch as they must be paroled within the state in which the institution is located. There is usually little that is constructive in their new environment in positions found for them by parole authorities. One solution of this problem would be the further development of state-wide parole systems accompanied by interstate agreements under which the parole authorities in the state of the child's residence would undertake the supervision of children paroled from institutions in other states.

Large numbers of boys and girls run away from home every year. Because of their temporary sojourn in the community in which they are apprehended, it is difficult to deal satisfactorily with them through probation or other methods employed by juvenile courts. Moreover, the local authorities usually think that the care and treatment of runaways belong to the community they have left, and there is little appreciation of the fact that social case work ought to be done to find out why these children left home. They are often merely released with instructions to return home, or are started on their way without adequate care being taken to place them in the charge of responsible persons.

Careful case work is very necessary in dealing with these runaway children, and the officers of juvenile or other courts

should make every attempt to return a child to jurisdiction in another state only after a plan has been worked out for him. The court authorities in the community where the child is discovered should certainly notify the court officers in the community to which a child is to be returned. The lack in many communities of juvenile courts or probation officers to handle problems of this sort increases the difficulty of dealing with these runaway children when they become an interstate problem.

State Bureaus

A good many of the older states have state bureaus dealing with unsettled persons, such persons being known as "state" or "unsettled" poor. Five states (Connecticut, Indiana, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York) have laws providing for an agency to which all non-resident dependents and aliens are to be referred. Six more states (California, Illinois, Minnesota, Oregon, Vermont, Wisconsin) have legal provision for the return of non-residents who are in state institutions. In two of these states (Vermont, Wisconsin) the provision is for insane persons only.¹ Since, however, the majority of states have a centralized control of mental cases, there are more state as distinguished from local authorities dealing with problems of non-resident mental patients than with the other groups. Many state departments have made verbal or written agreements with the corresponding authorities in other states concerning procedures in dealing with non-resident adult patients in state hospitals.

It is in the lack of provision for delinquent and destitute migratory or unsettled persons that the chief difficulties between states develop, and children are, of course, found among these groups. The majority of the cases of migratory destitute persons are dealt with by the local poor-law officials on the basis of expediency and economy in the use of local tax funds, and there is usually no supervision by the

¹ Donnell, Charlotte C., "Laws Regarding Settlement in Connection with the Problem of Interstate Relationship under a Federal System." *Social Service Review*, Vol. IV, September, 1930, pp. 427-51.

state authorities. In one commonwealth, therefore, there may be as many different methods of treating non-residents or residents stranded in other states as there are local officials dealing with these questions.

An indication of the extent of the problem in those states in which there is a state department caring for non-resident dependents is shown in the following reports: For the year 1928, 93 non-resident persons had been referred to the Board of State Charities in Indiana; these persons had been in state institutions or were applying for aid in the counties. New York, in its 1927 report, showed that 1,188 non-residents and state poor were removed to other states and territories. The Massachusetts report for 1928 showed that 212 removals to other states had been made within the year, and that 1,593 cases of non-residents had been returned from the state institutions.

Interstate relationships in a state with such a bureau are simple when compared with the practice in states where every town or county has jurisdiction over non-resident poor persons, since there is no state control nor any possibility of adjudication between counties within the state, or between the county of the state where the individual actually is and the one where he may belong.

To the confusion resulting from diversity of legislation is added that resulting from diversity of procedure within a state. The care of migratory families asking aid should be the responsibility of a central, not a local authority, and every state should establish such a bureau or some other authority able to deal justly with these problems.

PLACEMENTS

By January 1, 1930, 30 states (Alabama, Delaware, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maryland, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, Nevada, New Jersey, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, West Virginia, Wis-

consin, Wyoming) had adopted statutes regulating the bringing into the state of children to be placed in family homes. Of these states, 7 (Alabama, Iowa, Minnesota, North Dakota, Rhode Island, Virginia, Wisconsin) also regulate the sending of children out of the state for this purpose.

Minnesota and Virginia have notably constructive regulations, and the Minnesota law has been fairly closely copied by Iowa and Rhode Island, which have recently passed statutes. One of the constructive provisions of the Minnesota law is that a person importing children must obtain a certificate of approval of the proposed foster home from the State Board of Control. This requirement would be more effective than statutes which authorize the removal of a child from a home if the home is found, after placement, to be unsuitable.

Wisconsin has also recently passed a law regarding the importing and exporting of children for placement. One of the requirements of this law is that non-resident placements should be made under the same conditions as placements by licensed child welfare agencies within the state. This ruling combined with the new law relating to the licensing of state agencies, should give adequate protection to the imported dependent child in Wisconsin.

The primary concern expressed in most legislation on this subject seems to be the protection of the state against the bringing in of children who, through mental defect, disease, or for other reasons, may become burdens on the new state. This principle is sound so far as it goes, since a state has a right to protect its interests against those who may become public charges or burdens in other ways. Many states, however, recognize that the child's interests should not be forgotten, and, while safeguarding themselves, also safeguard the children to be placed there from other states. The more recent statutes of Alabama, Georgia, Iowa, Minnesota, Rhode Island, Virginia, and Wisconsin, have especially noteworthy features for the protection of the child.

It is important that the non-resident placed-out child should have the same protection and supervision as resident

children. A further point which deserves careful consideration in drafting legislation on this subject is whether a person bringing a child into a state for adoption into his own family should be excepted from the application of the law. Experience in certain states shows that frequently the exempted adoptive parent is an unfit custodian and has no suitable home for the child. The adoption laws of the state from which the child is imported may be quite inferior to those of the state into which the child is brought.

The laws of Iowa, Minnesota, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Utah, and Wisconsin, provide in effect that nothing in the law shall be construed as prohibiting a resident from bringing a child into the state for adoption into his own family. North Dakota has a similar provision, but the adoptive parent must report his name and address, the name of the child, and the name and address of the person or agency from which the child was received to the State Board of Administration. The state of New Jersey holds that a relative bringing in a child for the purpose of giving it a home in his or any other family is exempt only if the state agency has given its consent; and a similar qualification might well be made in adoption cases.

ADOPTIONS

In regulating interstate adoptions where the natural parents reside in one and the foster parents in another state, the community must be protected against the importation of undesirable children and, children must be kept from unfit foster homes.

Some states have definite provisions of law applying to non-residents who seek to adopt a child while in other states no such provisions are found. It is, however, variously provided, that a child may be adopted by any "person" or any "adult person" or any "reputable person."

Eleven of the states¹ (Georgia, Iowa, Minnesota, New Mexico, New York, North Dakota, Rhode Island, Ohio,

¹ Data compiled by the U. S. Children's Bureau, 1930.

South Dakota, Virginia, Wisconsin) require a trial period of residence in the proposed home before the final decree for adoption is granted. Nineteen states (Arizona, California, Iowa, Kansas, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, New Mexico, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Tennessee, Vermont, Virginia, Wisconsin), in the cases of children adopted from private institutions, either require or make possible a social investigation into the conditions and antecedents of the child and the suitability of the foster home, before the court may make its final decision.

Such requirements, strictly construed, might be interpreted as prohibiting the giving in adoption to foster parents from another state and would cause difficulties in cases where it is manifestly for the best interest of a child to be adopted by well qualified non-resident foster parents able to provide a suitable home and proper care and education. A non-resident who has submitted to the jurisdiction of the court where the child resides is also presumably subject to all requirements prescribed by the adoption law of the state of the child's residence. The court may refuse to grant the adoption until after the prescribed trial period of residence; and until the non-resident petitioner has submitted to the social investigation.

A more difficult interstate adoption problem is presented in cases where a particular state has adequate adoption laws, but one of its residents imports a child whom he has adopted in another state with inadequate adoption laws. The various states apparently lack statutory provisions covering these problems.

Certain other states have provided specifically for cases where a non-resident seeks to adopt a child. Maine, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire require a non-resident person to present a petition for the adoption of a child in the probate court of the county where the child resides. New York requires the appearance and examination of foster parents and the child to be adopted, with certain exceptions, such as in case the child is adopted from an institution in the

county in which the institution is located. Oregon provides for the filing of a petition in the county where the parent or guardian resides, or, if the child is adopted from an institution, in the county in which the institution is located. Vermont has similar provisions.

EXPERIENCE WITH PLACEMENT LAWS

The problem of unwise importation of children for placement from one state to another has greatly decreased in recent years, but is still acute in certain sections. There are many private agencies, both national and local, which, regardless of the legislation on the subject, place children carelessly and without adequate supervision, outside the borders of their own state. Many maternity hospitals are offenders in this particular, and certain individuals known as "baby bootleggers" completely ignore state laws and proper standards of foster home finding.

On the other hand, with the increasing emphasis on sound case work principles, many private agencies are placing children under their care in foster homes near their own homes, and are gradually withdrawing children already placed out in distant states to more easily supervised territory. All state welfare departments should strongly emphasize the necessity of observing sound standards of case work whether by their own agencies or by those in other states who place children in their state, and should develop means for enforcing these standards.

In order to learn something of the views of officials administering laws on this subject, inquiries were sent to 29 states asking for comments on their laws, and replies were received from 17 of these. No questionnaire was sent to Wisconsin, since the law had been in force there less than a year. From these replies it was learned that 204 permits had been issued, either by bonding or formal consent, for the placing of children from other states in the states reporting. A few states indicated that their figures were merely estimates and in 4 a simple consent was indicated, though the law required a bond.

It was also reported in some cases, however, that the records of placement were so poorly kept that the figures given were valueless. Nebraska has given permission for 38 in one year; Ohio for 83 over a five year period; Pennsylvania had 89 on record January 1, 1930, as under the care of foreign societies; Virginia estimated 60 children for the five year period. In the other states the numbers, if given at all, were so small that they could only indicate a lack of effective administration.

Only 4 states indicated that they had had any experience with the removal of children brought in from other states; these had been voluntary, and in 2 of the 4 states the removal had applied to children for whom no bond had been given. Only one state had had any experience with the forfeiture of bonds; in that case one bond had been forfeited.

Most of the officials who made any comment at all spoke of the difficulty of administering such a law, especially with limited staffs, but there was a general feeling that the existence of the law as a possible source of authority acted to a considerable extent as a deterrent wherever any publicity had been given its enactment. Pennsylvania alone seemed to feel reasonably assured that administration could be made effective, although even this state felt that enforcing the law in regard to private placements is a matter of chance, depending on the accidental discovery of children so placed. There are indications in some reports that the law is being ignored by the agency responsible for its enforcement.

Few suggestions were made beyond the implication that if the state staff were larger the law could be better enforced. One state executive suggested that the family receiving the child be included in the bond requirements. A state executive in South Dakota, which has had some experience with informal agreements with neighboring states, suggested that this plan of mutual agreements might be furthered by a meeting of executives at the National Conference of Social Work. The director of the Tennessee welfare department remarked that although the law undoubtedly had some de-

terrent effect, the standards of child placing agencies were of greater importance; that is, state and other responsible private agencies will safeguard their children anyway, and irresponsible agencies and individuals will pay little attention to any laws.

The conclusion to be drawn from all comments on this legislation is that closer control by state authorities of the total activity of all agencies placing-out children in a state, and higher standards of social case work would take care of this problem better than an attempt at legislation in a field where enforcement is difficult.

From the comments of one of the public officials and those of a children's home representative responding to another questionnaire, and the discussion of the practices of the two maternity homes reporting, it seems clear that thought should be given to the problem of the child born out of wedlock and away from the place of the mother's residence, in another state. This sort of care usually does not come under the laws regarding importing and exporting of children, and involves a heavy financial burden on the centers where such maternity care is available, both for medical and other expense.

The Pennsylvania attorney general has ruled that pregnant women induced to come into the state, whether by verbal promises or advertisements, are "brought in" to the state. Their children subsequently born in Pennsylvania cannot be left by their mothers and placed out there unless the mother, or the agency bringing her in, files a bond with the state department and reports such placement.

As has been pointed out, the problem of returning the mother and child to the community of the mother's residence is complicated by the law of some states, which requires that suit for the support of the child be started in the jurisdiction in which the child is born. These comments are not to be interpreted as suggesting legislation on this subject. Freedom to deal with each situation on a sound case work basis is essential, and the important end to be sought is a habit of conference and mutually understood objectives.

The comments of certain persons connected with agencies or institutions which place children in other states than those where their headquarters are located, when asked to tell something of their experience and opinions with reference to the value of state reputation in the field of child placing, showed a great lack of knowledge of the standards applied by the best child placing agencies today. For example, two resented the control exercised by a state in which children were placed. And one said: "We know of only one who became a ward of any charitable institution. We got her back and found another home for her. This child had been placed in four states and ten homes but she was bad and subnormal." Such practice as this would indicate the need of more careful regulation of child placing by the authority of the home state.

SERVICES

The difficulties encountered when interstate situations develop have been commented on. All public social agencies desiring to bring their standards up to a satisfactory level consider service to other agencies outside their own state a part of their social obligation. It has been shown that there is already a great amount of interchange of such service and the cooperation of the various state departments and public and private agencies in dealing with interstate problems is steadily increasing. The existence of the Transportation Agreement is important although it is not as yet widely recognized.

Transportation Agreement

The Transportation Agreement is a compact applying to all cases of applications for aid from non-residents in which transportation is indicated as a form of relief. Its signatories bind themselves to observe the following principles of good case work: to act for the benefit of the client with adequate treatment, only after sufficient investigation, and with due notice to the community concerned. In 1929, 513 signers, 470 private societies or agencies, 43 public authori-

ties, were parties to this agreement. Unfortunately, its principles are not extensively enough applied to prevent the occurrence of serious interstate problems. The agreement is renewed each year so that organizations may have current information on which to act. The signers enter into mutual obligations to obey the following rules and interpretations:¹

Before any transportation shall be provided, the agency considering it shall be satisfied by adequate and reliable evidence that: (1) the prospects of the applicant for opportunities for normal living are not decreased by sending him to the proposed destination; (2) that the applicant will have such resources for maintenance at the point of destination as will save him from becoming dependent on relief from an agency, public or private, or is a proper charge upon the agencies there, or has legal residence there; (3) that reasonable effort has been made to obtain from an appropriate agency at the proposed destination a report as to the above facts; (4) that provision has been made for the applicant through to the ultimate destination which has been determined by the sender.

Besides the Transportation Agreement, understandings of a reciprocal character have been reached between and among states especially with reference to the return to their state of origin of persons found mentally ill and in need of institutional care.

If the scope of the agreement were widened and the number of authorities agreeing were multiplied, the difficulty of interstate dealing with distress might be met. This however is rendered impracticable by the absence in many states of an authority capable of entering into such agreements.

State County Agreements

Methods of investigating cases of dealing with state wards who, for one reason or another, may be resident in other states cannot always be set down definitely. Agree-

¹ For information address Committee on Transportation, Room 511, 25 West 43rd Street, New York City.

ments between agencies and between states must be arrived at individually in many cases. The main consideration should always be a desire to be of service and to cooperate in the solution of a human problem.

On the west coast there have developed state comity agreements relating to the deportation of inmates of state hospitals for the insane and the feeble-minded and correctional institutions, to which 24 states subscribe. Some of the middle-western states have definite written or verbal agreements in this regard, and the existence of similar agreements is reported from the eastern groups. If such agreements regarding all non-residents could be arrived at between and among all the states, a long step would be taken toward solving the difficulties and problems which have been discussed above. In the biennium 1927 to 1929, California deported 873 persons in this way, and hopes to execute such agreements with all states.

The Child Welfare League of America

At a regional meeting of children's agencies in Savannah, Georgia, in 1924, the following articles of agreement in child care, in its interstate relations, were adopted:

1. Child placement in its interstate relations should first of all consider what is for the best interests of the child, subject to such legal limitations as exist in each individual state.
2. A residence in any state carries with it the presumption that the problem is one for the public agencies of that state.
3. Unless the laws of the state provide otherwise, residence should be determined by at least one year's stay.
4. Unless a child has been committed to a private society or that society has otherwise legally assumed its care, the private agency cannot be held responsible for the permanent care of the child.
5. When cooperative action is being asked by the agency of one state of the agency of another in which a child is supposed to belong, the request for such action should be made at the earliest possible date after the application for care has come in, and the agency asking such cooperation shall give temporary care pending such investigations.

6. If, for the benefit of the child, the agencies of both states agree that it is best that the child remain in the state where the problem was found, the case should not be reported back to the state of residence without similar mutual agreement.

7. No expense of transportation for return to the state where the case belongs shall be borne by the agency to which the child was committed, but, where no legal commitment exists, the expense of the case should be assumed by the returning agency.

8. In cases where supervision is asked by private or public agencies of one state of the agencies of another, the agreement between the members of the Child Welfare League of America shall be observed and the expenses other than those of specific supervision and the legal responsibility for the child under supervision shall lie upon the agency to which the child was committed and, when supervision is no longer possible, the supervising agency shall so report to the agency responsible for the child's care and their judgment shall be considered final as far as the supervising agency goes.

9. Any transportation of dependents shall conform to the spirit and provisions of the national transportation agreement.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The Commission on Uniform Laws should be asked to undertake a nation-wide study of settlement laws with a view to making recommendations concerning more uniform agreements.

2. All public and private agencies should give due consideration to the Transportation Agreement.

3. There should be created in every state where it does not now exist, a state agency or bureau authorized to supervise the decisions of local public units regarding their own residents stranded in other states and the treatment of non-residents within their own borders.

4. Some medium of arbitration between states should be set up, either in the United States Children's Bureau or some other federal bureau, to establish principles to be followed in interstate matters; and this medium of arbitration should remain a voluntary association until a definite program can be established by the federal government.

5. Private agencies should recognize their obligations, in certain situations, to supplement public agencies by furnishing such funds as will make it possible to carry out the best plan for the non-resident family or individual child; but this work should be done in close cooperation with public agencies so that non-residents are not helped by private agencies to become legally settled only to be thrown off on the public agencies.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND CHILD
WELFARE

GRANTS-IN-AID

INSTEAD of attempting a comprehensive analysis of all the problems of the total subject matter the Committee on the Federal Government and Child Welfare has chosen to confine itself to a discussion of and recommendations for grants-in-aid for welfare purposes.¹

The American child welfare program, from the standpoint of public administration, may be likened in form to a pyramid. At the base stands the county or municipal government which deals at first hand with the entire range of problems which affect the well-being of children. Somewhat higher in the structure comes the state government usually with a narrower range of administrative responsibility. Its task is the coordination of the work of its constituent local governments and the promotion of a high standard of work among them. Toward the top of the pyramid is found the federal government stimulating the states and localities to more effective child care through research, advice, and the dissemination of sound information. Apart from this service to the states the federal government is directly concerned with the welfare of children in the District of Columbia, in the Territories and dependencies and on Indian Reservations. Whatever may be the differences in the nature of the legal relation between these various groups and federal authority, all of them have an immediate claim upon the conscience of

Note: Report of the Committee on The Federal Government and Child Welfare, William Hodson, Chairman.

¹ Recognizing that it will be desirable, at some future time, to probe further into many of the important questions which are not considered here, the Committee asked Emma O. Lundberg to prepare a descriptive analysis of the functions of the various federal departments in the field of child welfare. This is presented under "Services of the Federal Departments."

the nation as a whole for assistance in safeguarding their young.

Child welfare presents certain international problems which can be handled only by the federal government through international conferences or informal discussions between groups and committees from various nations. The importance of international phases of child welfare is growing rapidly with the movement throughout the world to level upwards the standards of care and protection for children. Considerable thought and attention must be given, therefore, to the ways in which our government may best participate in this international movement.

A NATIONAL MINIMUM OF CHILD WELFARE

It is a distressing fact that the best and the worst examples of public care for children may be found in the local county administration of the most progressive state. The general standard of care provided in the states themselves upon careful comparison will exhibit the same extremes. Many people believe that any state is entitled to enjoy unmolested whatever standard of public administration its constituents set. This theory ignores the immediate fate of thousands of children who are growing up in the less progressive places with handicaps of body, mind and spirit, and with no facilities to relieve them. A general levelling up of the standards of child care to the point where each child may have at least the bare essentials of well-being is greatly needed. In other words a national minimum of child welfare should be established at the earliest possible time. The widespread recognition of such a minimum would affect profoundly the health, happiness and general welfare of all children throughout the country.

It is obviously difficult to establish any given minimum among the forty-eight sovereign and independent states. No local government, of course, can be forced to accept what it does not want, but probably may be persuaded to raise the standard of what it does want. It is, therefore, desirable to

establish in the public mind a minimum beyond which any state may rise as far as it will and below which it falls at the peril of common disapproval.

The general standard of future citizenship throughout the country depends upon the strength and intelligence of children, and is a question of national as well as state concern. It is an axiom of finance that cheap money will debase a sound currency; just as surely will a growing body of incompetent citizens lower the vitality and dilute the strength of the American people. The problem then is one which affects both the state and the nation and calls for efficient cooperation between the two if permanent improvement is to be achieved.

RESEARCH, CONSULTATION AND STATISTICAL SERVICE

As has been pointed out, the powers of the federal government in child welfare are restricted under the constitution to the conduct of research, the collection and dissemination of information, the development of consultation service to assist the states in developing their special services, and sharing with them costs of approved work by the use of the grant-in-aid.

A proper administration of grants-in-aid in this field will be accompanied by an extension of consultative field services, enlarged research activities, and more comprehensive statistical compilation. Until there are statistics concerning the character and volume of dependency, delinquency, and neglect comparable to the data now available on morbidity and mortality, the nation's work for children will be sorely handicapped. To these ends the functions of the Children's Bureau should be extended and its resources increased.

The establishment of a comprehensive service to the children of the states, territories, and possessions is a high obligation of the federal government. Its assistance should be lent to the widest possible range of problems and in the most generous way consistent with the interest of the taxpayer.

ADMINISTRATION

The most satisfactory method by which the federal government can cooperate with the states is through the grant-in-aid system. Such grants are already an established governmental procedure in this country and have been widely used in England. A distinguished English commentator referred to the successful character of the relationship established between local and national government as "a remarkable combination of liberty and efficiency." Another authority remarks that "it has maintained, at least in part, the virtues of a decentralized administration without suffering it to fall into the vices of negligent parochialism."

As early as 1785 Congress made grants of land out of the Northwest Territory to the states for educational purposes. The Morrill Act of 1862 made similar grants to the states for the promotion of teaching in agriculture and the mechanical arts. This act differed from previous ones in that it imposed definite conditions to be met by the states in order to safeguard the proceeds and insure their application to the designated uses. The grants were thus a conditional gift and not a sharing in a common equity.

It was not until 1911, when Congress adopted the Weeks Act, providing for federal cooperation in the prevention of forest fires, that a precedent for truly effective cooperation between state and nation was established. There followed in quick succession, from 1914 to 1920, four acts extending aid from the federal treasury for education in agriculture, the construction of good roads, vocational education and the rehabilitation of disabled persons. Then in 1920 came the Sheppard-Towner Act to promote adequate health care for mothers and babies. Congress has made no appropriation for the current year. The operation of the act is therefore temporarily suspended with the distinct possibility that it may be abrogated entirely. This act concerned with the health of mothers and babies is the first grant-in-aid to be suspended or withdrawn. Moreover, the Sheppard-Towner Act seems to have been the special object of attack not only

by the opponents of this particular measure but by those who object to all grants-in-aid.

From the standpoint of governmental policy, the grant-in-aid system has six distinguishing characteristics:

It declares that certain matters traditionally regarded as exclusively of state concern are so affected with a national interest as to justify and require assistance from the federal treasury. Thus the nation having a stake in the prevention of forest fires, in the building of good roads, and in the health of mothers and babies, seeks to establish a national minimum in these fields of administration

While many activities of the state may be regarded as having a remote national aspect, the grant-in-aid policy selects those in which the national interest is definite, direct, and substantial. Moreover, federal aid is provided for those activities not yet well developed by the states and needing the stimulus of such aid to insure their initiation and healthy growth

The states are individually and collectively free to accept or reject federal aid and no state is eligible for it until the legislature has declared its acceptance by legislative enactment

The project for which aid is accepted is administered by the state and its sub-divisions. The state must prepare its plan of operation and this plan is subject to approval by the federal authorities. The principle of local administration and control is reserved and the danger of federal bureaucracy is avoided

The initiative of the states is stimulated and their active acceptance of responsibility is insured by the requirement that the states must match federal funds dollar for dollar

Approval of the federal authorities for the state plan of operation is required and periodic visitation and inspection of state administration by federal agents provides an effective method for securing the desired na-

tional minimum of efficiency. Grants-in-aid afford a practicable method of focusing upon local administration the broad experience and expert knowledge of a central authority in touch with the whole field of activity throughout the country, without jeopardizing local autonomy.

AMERICAN EXPERIENCE

A review of American experience with the grant-in-aid policy shows that every state has accepted some form of aid and most of the states have accepted all the varied forms of assistance. The total federal appropriations have grown from eight millions in 1912 to one hundred and forty-seven millions in 1925. The states have not only matched federal funds but have exceeded them in every instance. For example, the states appropriate five times as much for road-building as they receive from the national treasury. Austin F. McDonald has reported in his book, *Federal Aid*, the results of his personal inquiry among state officials in every part of the country as to the effect of these grants upon state administration. The testimony is overwhelming that federal assistance has either been the main factor in starting state activities when none had existed before, or has greatly accelerated work which was being ineffectively performed.

These state officials also bear nearly unanimous testimony that federal supervision has been tactful and helpful, and has not attempted arbitrary domination. A glance at certain measurable results is significant. In 1912 there were sixty-one million acres of forest under protection; in the succeeding years under federal aid this number increased until it amounted to one hundred ninety-six million acres in 1927. The quality of administration had risen markedly. Hard-surfaced roads have doubled since 1916 and the types of construction are now vastly superior to the standards of earlier years. Schools for vocational education have increased fivefold in nine years under federal aid, and the number of pupils has increased in nearly the same propor-

tion. Before the federal government began to provide vocational aid for the crippled and disabled, only six states were even desultorily active in this field; in seven years forty-one states provided this service.

There can be no doubt that grants-in-aid constitute a governmental technique peculiarly fashioned to the needs of the American people and nicely adjusted to the American governmental structure under the Constitution. This policy should be regarded not as one to be narrowly construed and suspended at the earliest possible time, but as a permanent block in our governmental pyramid which should be built upon more extensively as time goes on. Fortunately our Supreme Court has clearly indicated its opinion as to the constitutionality of the grants-in-aid by the following dictum in the case of *Massachusetts versus Mellon*, a case brought against the Maternity and Infancy Act: "Probably it would be sufficient to point out that powers of the states are not invaded since the statute imposed no obligation but simply an option which the state is free to accept or reject."

OPPOSITION

A classic statement of the opposition to grants-in-aid on the ground of conflict with the doctrine of states' rights is found in President Pierce's veto in 1854 of a bill making grants of lands to the states for the care of indigent insane persons. Pierce objected to the bill on constitutional grounds and for reasons of policy. He reasoned that if aid to the states for the insane were upheld, drafts could be made upon the federal treasury for every type of human disability. We should thus be entering upon a "vast and novel field of legislation." The result would be a drying up of charity at home and the states "would become humble supplicants for the bounty of the federal government." Pierce's constitutional argument rested upon the proposition that the care of the insane and of the indigent generally was a purely local matter and that there existed no express or implied power in the federal government to deal with the subject.

The growth and development of grants-in-aid since Pierce's time demonstrate the truth of Justice Holmes' declaration that "the life of the law is not logic but experience." Great changes have occurred during the past half century in the interpretation of the doctrine of states' rights. Matters which in the light of social and economic conditions of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, would have been regarded as of purely state concern have become matters of avowedly national concern in the twentieth. Forest protection, good roads, vocational rehabilitation and care of the health of mothers and babies are examples of these. The issue of states' rights can never be determined by resort to any magic formula nor by a sterile construction of the Constitution. The Constitution should be invoked to protect the rights and interests of the American people not in terms of the problem that confronted them in 1789, but of that they have to face today.

Moreover, it should be borne in mind that under the grant-in-aid policy no powers are taken from the states because administrative authority is vested in them. If it be argued that this financial weapon in the hands of the federal government makes possible the exercise of unreasonable and dictatorial power, the answer is that the states may withdraw at will should they fail to make their protests effective through their own representatives in Congress. It is a clearly recognized fact that the hazards of imposing an unreasonable national will upon the states are so great as to make persuasion and good counsel the natural and inevitable basis for cooperation.

A PERMANENT POLICY

It is the thesis of the present report that grants-in-aid constitute the most effective basis for national and state cooperation in promoting child welfare and in securing the establishment of that national minimum of care and protection which is the hope of every humane citizen. The Shepard-Towner Act should be made effective without further delay through the passage of the necessary appropriations

and this measure should be regarded as a permanent governmental policy until such time as the need for federal cooperation is shown no longer to exist. The benefits of the act should be extended to the Territories and dependencies. Porto Rico is tragically in need of this federal assistance.

The time has come to face squarely and comprehensively the entire question of grants-in-aid for health and for welfare purposes. The scope of the present study does not permit of definite and detailed recommendations on this broad question of governmental policy. The definite conviction is emphasized, however, that grants-in-aid should be extended to the states to promote the proper care and protection of the dependent, delinquent, and defective child. The work of the state and local public welfare or child welfare boards is of direct and substantial concern to the nation and needs the stimulus and inspiration of effective federal cooperation in the promotion of sound and intelligent citizenship in state and nation.

It is important that this great governmental policy should rest upon a widely accepted theory of method and purpose. Grants should not be made in a haphazard and unplanned fashion, or in response to the pressure of a special group which may be interested in seeking aid in some particular activity. The whole question needs thorough study and a statesmanlike declaration of policy, in the light of which every specific proposal may be considered and acted upon.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The facilities of the United States Children's Bureau are needed to collect and supply information, to offer assistance in the form of investigation and consultation, and to conduct research in the fields in which there are as yet unsettled problems. The activities of the bureau in the field of maternal and child hygiene are of the greatest social importance and should be continued as an integral part of its program.

2. Both federal and state grants-in-aid, accepted in the fields of education and health, should be extended to the field

of public welfare in order to make possible the development of effective local units of service.

Dissenting Opinion

The foregoing report of the Subcommittee on Federal Government and Child Welfare was adopted by the Committee on National, State, and Local Organization for the Handicapped (IV A) of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection. As a difference of opinion existed concerning the policy of grants-in-aid, a minority report was prepared by a member of the Committee, the Right Reverend Karl J. Alter, Bishop of Toledo, Ohio, and according to the wish of the Committee, is presented here.

As a member of the Committee on National, State, and Local Organizations for the Handicapped, I wish to state that I am unable to accept the report of the Committee, and wish to offer the following considerations in answer to the argument previously set forth.

While admitting the fact that certain states show themselves backward in adopting adequate social welfare programs, I do not see sufficient evidence to warrant the contention that the best solution of the difficulty is to be found in federal grants-in-aid. This latter policy, when coupled with federal control, which is definitely provided for in the recommendation, is a departure from the fundamental American principle of local responsibility and self-government. It is impossible to avoid federal control as long as there must be federal approval before grants are made, followed by federal inspection and visitation, as a guarantee of proper expenditure of money made from the national treasury.

If some sort of financial aid is to be favored, the principles governing the selection of those activities for which it should be granted must be more carefully set forth than they are in the present report. The Committee admits in its report that since the national government has an interest in practically all of the activities of the various states, some criterion must be established in order to decide which of these activities should receive financial aid. The one offered by our Committee seems to be wholly inadequate. The choice of activities in which the federal government's interest is "direct, definite, and substantial" is recommended as a policy. I submit that this criterion does not constitute an objective measuring rod. There will always be

a difference of opinion as to what is direct or indirect; what is definite or indefinite; what is substantial or incidental. In other words, these adjectives do not define an objective basis of choice, but one that is entirely subjective. It seems to me that, before it will be wise to launch out into a new governmental policy in child welfare, there must be some better method of delimiting the field of federal activities than the one presented above.

The argument drawn from the necessity or desirability of equalizing the tax burden does not seem to me to be cogent in this particular case or directly pertinent to the recommended policy of federal grants-in-aid. It seems to me that inequality in the tax burden, should be squarely faced as a tax problem and remedied at its source. Confusion is introduced into the entire situation by a discussion of how we shall spend tax money, instead of a narrowing down of the discussion to the point really at issue, namely, how we shall collect the tax money so that inequalities are eliminated.

Apart from these considerations there are further facts which should be taken into account before the Committee announces its views. The National Advisory Committee on Education, appointed by President Hoover in May, 1929, is engaged at present in a careful analysis of the entire policy of federal grants-in-aid. It would seem to me to be a matter of common prudence to await the findings of this study in education before taking a definite stand on federal policies in social welfare. We should, at least, expect consistent action between the various branches of the Department of the Interior in a matter of such far-reaching importance.

This Committee in its Memorandum of Progress¹ emphasizes the suggestion that the federal government should render services of great educational value to the states by means of research and the collection and dissemination of reliable information, particularly with reference to those types of educational service which the states and the local communities cannot provide for themselves. It seems to me that this particular policy in the field of education is likewise one which needs the greatest emphasis in the field of social welfare.

Attention is called, on page 25 of this report, to the importance of the American principle of local self-government, and the following statement on the bottom of the same page seems to me to express a right attitude in the field of social welfare as well as in the field of education:

¹ "Federal Relations to Education. A Memorandum of Progress." Washington, D. C. National Advisory Committee on Education, 1930.

"Every departure from that long, political, established, policy should be regarded skeptically and accepted only when overwhelming evidence is presented that changes in our life require detailed modifications here and there. The burden of proof rests on every actual and proposed departure from this fundamental American tradition, which expresses the essential wisdom of a long experience and favorable result in our national life."

It is interesting, moreover, to find the following two definite statements of principle given on page 13 of the same report:

"In the field of education at least, matching federal money grants whether general or special, with state funds, is a policy not to be favored.

"It is unwise to centralize in the Federal Government, as opposed to the state and local governments, the power of determining the social purposes to be served by schools, or of establishing the technique of educational procedure."

It would seem that these principles are applicable to social welfare as well as to education.

In view of the statement contained in the report of our own Committee that: "The whole question needs thorough study and statesmanlike declaration of policy, in the light of which every specific proposal may be considered and acted upon," I would hold that it is premature and unwise at the present time to make any definite declaration in favor of a policy of federal grants-in-aid in general form or under specific conditions. I should like to recommend that further study and research be undertaken before a definite commitment in favor of such an important policy be made by this Committee.

SERVICES OF THE FEDERAL DEPARTMENTS

THE federal government is in some measure responsible for the welfare of over 50,000,000 children under eighteen years of age. The Census of 1930 gives the number in continental United States as 43,015,712 and over 6,000,000 are in the scattered Territories and island possessions. It is probable that more than 60,000 Indian children are wards of the government.

Under our political organization public provision for child care, education and protection, is primarily the responsibility of state and local governments. From the time of the establishment of the Federal Union, however, Congress, exercising powers granted in the Constitution, has enacted measures dealing with the education and welfare of children. In fact, congressional provision for education preceded the adoption of the Constitution, dating from the Northwest Ordinance of 1785 which decreed that a portion of the public lands in the Northwest Territory should be set aside for the maintenance of public schools.

The functions of the federal government which are directly related to child welfare may be divided into three principal groups: (1) collection and dissemination of statistical and other information concerning children and the agencies and institutions established to serve them; (2) federal participation in the administration of services of various types, through the system of grants-in-aid, acceptance of the grants and the conditions accompanying them being optional with the state or other local unit; (3) direct administrative services to children who are especially dependent upon the federal government either because of peculiar legal obligations which the government has assumed (children of veterans, Indian children), or because they live in districts and territories under federal administrative control (the District of Columbia, Alaska, the insular territories and possessions).

Note: Prepared by Emma O. Lundberg for the Committee on Federal Government and Child Welfare.

RESEARCH, STATISTICAL, AND FEDERAL AID SERVICES

Historical Development

The research functions of the federal government are especially important because of the multiplicity of state and local units of government and the diversity of laws and administrative practices. In his last annual message to Congress, George Washington recommended the establishment of a department or national board to "encourage and assist a spirit of discovery and scientific improvement" in agriculture "by drawing to a common center the results everywhere of individual skill and observation, and spreading them thence over the entire Nation." The duties of the Department of Agriculture, established in 1862, were described in the act creating it, as, in part, "to acquire and to diffuse among the people of the United States useful information on subjects connected with agriculture in the most general and comprehensive sense of that word."

In 1867 Congress established a Department of Education, whose head did not, however, have cabinet rank. Its function was the collection and dissemination of information concerning educational conditions in the states and Territories. In 1869 it became a bureau of the Department of the Interior, where it is still located. For many years it was called the Bureau of Education, but in 1929 the name *Office of Education*, given in the bureau's organic act, was reinstated.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics, now a branch of the Department of Labor, first established in 1884, and for a time (1888 to 1903) operating as an independent department without cabinet rank, was entrusted by Congress in 1907 with a comprehensive investigation of women and child wage earners in the United States. From time to time special commissions have been created to undertake research projects in certain fields of social welfare. The Immigration Commission, established in 1907, was such an organization. Its investigations produced a large number of important data on family and child welfare in families of the foreign born.

Under authority of Congress, reports on various subjects relating to children have been published and distributed as public documents from time to time: for example, the report on *Children's Courts in the United States, Their Origin, Development and Results*, prepared for the International Prison Commission and published as a document of the House of Representatives in 1904, and the proceedings of the

first White House Conference on Dependent Children, published as a Senate Document in 1910.

Recognition of the need for a special federal bureau devoted to the interests of children was first given national expression in 1906, when Senator Crane and Representative Gardner introduced bills to establish a Children's Bureau in the Department of the Interior. The movement for the establishment of such a bureau was the outgrowth of the experience of social workers in large urban centers. Some of them had received letters from various parts of the country asking for advice regarding methods of child care, and were impressed by the contrast between the ease with which farmers obtained federal help and advice on plants and livestock and the absence of any federal center of information concerning the problems of childhood. In 1906 Senator Beveridge introduced the first bill for the federal regulation of child labor. The establishment of a Children's Bureau was one of the principal recommendations of the White House Conference on the Care of Dependent Children called by President Roosevelt in 1909, and had the endorsement of both President Roosevelt and President Taft. The measure establishing a Children's Bureau in the Department of Commerce and Labor was passed in 1912, and in 1913 the bureau became a branch of the newly created Department of Labor.

In the same year in which the Children's Bureau was established, the name of the Public Health and Marine Hospital Service in the Department of the Treasury, was changed to Public Health Service and it was given authority to study and investigate the diseases of man. In recent years it has carried on various projects in child hygiene.

Later federal legislation of major importance in the child welfare field includes the acts establishing grants-in-aid for vocational education and rehabilitation, the first of which was passed in 1917 administered by the Federal Board for Vocational Education; the first and second federal child labor laws of 1916 and 1919 respectively, both declared unconstitutional; the child labor amendment to the Constitution, submitted to the states in 1924 and ratified to date by six states; and the Maternity and Infancy Act of 1921, which provided federal aid to the states for maternal and infant hygiene work, administered by the Children's Bureau from 1922 until June 30, 1929, when it expired.

Before 1914, when the Smith-Lever Act was passed, the department and some of the state agricultural colleges had done some extension work, and since this date the Extension Service of the United

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States Department of Agriculture has carried on home demonstration and boys' and girls' club work. In 1923 the Bureau of Home Economics was organized in this department.

Present Organization

Many federal bureaus conduct activities of great importance to child life: for example, the activities of various bureaus of the Department of Agriculture in promoting scientific farming and improving conditions of rural life; and the work of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the Women's Bureau and the Employment Service, of the Department of Labor, in promoting the welfare of wage earners. Only those bureaus which carry on activities directly related to the health and welfare of children are included in this study.¹ These bureaus are as follows:

Children's Bureau, Department of Labor

Research, dissemination of information and consultation in the general field of child health and child welfare.

Bureau of the Public Health Service, Treasury Department

Research and dissemination of information in child hygiene, as part of its general functions of research in "the diseases of man and conditions influencing the propagation and spread thereof"; cooperation with state and local health organizations

Office of Education, Department of the Interior

Research and collection of statistics, dissemination of information and consultation in the field of education; administration of federal aid to land-grant colleges

Bureau of Home Economics, Department of Agriculture

Research and dissemination of information in home management

Extension Service, Department of Agriculture

Cooperation with states and local units in home demonstration and rural recreation activities.²

¹ The account of the Children's Bureau was prepared by Emma O. Lundberg, the accounts of the work of the other services were prepared from statements furnished by the department or bureau concerned.

² This service has extensive functions relating to the general field of agriculture and rural life.

Federal Board for Vocational Education

Administration of federal aid to the states for vocational education and vocational rehabilitation, and research in these fields

Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce

In addition to the general population census, collection of statistics of births, deaths, marriages, and divorces, and dependent, defective and delinquent classes.¹

THE CHILDREN'S BUREAU ²

The Children's Bureau was created by an act of Congress approved April 9, 1912, six years after the first bill proposing such a bureau had been introduced. The first appropriation, \$25,640, became available on August 23, 1912, and the bureau began operations at once with a small staff. The bureau was placed in the Department of Commerce and Labor. When the Department of Labor was established in 1913 the bureau became a branch of that department.

As defined in the act: "The said bureau shall investigate and report to said department upon all matters pertaining to the welfare of children and child life among all classes of our people, and shall especially investigate the questions of infant mortality, the birth rate, orphanage, juvenile courts, desertion, dangerous occupations, accidents and diseases of children, employment, legislation affecting children in the several states and Territories."

The work of the bureau includes the following activities: collection and analysis of facts about children, gathered from first-hand investigation and library research; dissemination of these facts through various channels to the people throughout the country; cooperation with the states; cooperation with public and private organizations.

Although the Children's Bureau is fundamentally an educational and investigative agency, it has had administrative functions in two fields. In September, 1917, the bureau became the administrative agency for the first federal child labor law, which prohibited the interstate or foreign shipment of the products of establishments in which children had been employed in violation of standards specified

¹ Statistics in other fields, less closely related to child welfare, are also collected.

² Free use has been made of the statements published by the Children's Bureau in preparing this outline and the descriptions of research and field studies are presented in the briefest possible form.

in the law. This law was declared unconstitutional in June, 1918. The second administrative function of the bureau was in connection with the Maternity and Infancy Act, which provided federal aid to the states from April, 1922, to July 30, 1929.

During the nineteen years of its existence the bureau has prepared over two hundred bulletins and a large number of charts, pamphlets, and leaflets. Much of this material is in scientific form for the use of specialists in the various fields of child welfare, but special emphasis also has been placed on the preparation of material in popular form for the use of parents and laymen.

Appropriations and Staff

The bureau is directed by a chief and an assistant chief. The work of the bureau is organized into six divisions: Maternity and Infant Hygiene, Child Hygiene, Industrial, Social Service, Statistical, Editorial; and three sections: Correspondence, Administrative, Filing.

Exclusive of the funds for the federal administration of the Maternity and Infancy Act, amounting to approximately fifty thousand dollars a year, and for allotments to the states under this act, amounting to approximately one million dollars a year, from 1923 to 1929,¹ the appropriations for the bureau's work for each fiscal year ending June 30, have varied from \$25,640 at the time of its organization in 1913, \$423,760 in 1918, \$518,160 in 1919, to \$395,500 in 1932.

On April 1, 1930, the bureau had 167 employees, 146 permanent and 21 temporary. The staff included 59 in the professional and scientific service and 108 in the administrative and clerical, subprofessional and custodial services.

Infant Mortality

The first major work undertaken by the bureau was investigation of infant mortality. At the time when the bureau was created the Birth Registration Area had not been established by the Bureau of the Census. Only eight states had fairly adequate birth registration, and statistics of deaths were available in less than half the states. It was impossible to discover either how many babies were born in a year in the United States or how many of them died during the first year of life.

The bureau's investigations of infant mortality were carried on for several years. The field studies dealt with social, health, industrial,

¹ 1922 funds were less, since they covered only part of a year.

and economic factors. Every baby born in the selected cities during a given period was included. The studies traced the lives of the babies through their first year and analyzed conditions surrounding those who lived as well as those who died.

The first investigation was conducted in Johnstown, Pennsylvania, in 1912. During subsequent years studies were made in Manchester, New Hampshire; Saginaw, Michigan; Brockton, and New Bedford, Massachusetts; Waterbury, Connecticut; Akron, Ohio; Baltimore, Maryland; and Gary, Indiana; an analysis of records was made in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Reports were issued on each of these studies and a combined analysis was published in 1925 under the title *Causal Factors in Infant Mortality*.

Maternal Mortality

In 1917 a review of statistics of maternal mortality in the United States and certain other countries was issued, presenting for the first time an authoritative picture of the needless sacrifice of human life in this country due to low standards of care during the prenatal period and in childbirth. The bureau has continued scientific research on this subject and is now preparing a report based on a study of all maternal deaths in fifteen states, planned and carried out in cooperation with state departments of health and medical societies. Since 1929 the bureau has cooperated with Emory University and the State Board of Health of Georgia in giving practicing physicians on intensive short course in the principles and practice of obstetrics.

Infant Care and Hygiene

Among the first activities of the bureau was the preparation of publications for the use of mothers and prospective mothers. Three bulletins, *Prenatal Care*, *Infant Care*, and *Child Care*, first issued in 1913 and 1914 and later revised, and a bulletin, *Child Management*, issued in 1925, have attained a distribution of more than eleven million copies. A number of state health departments have by permission reprinted quantities of these bulletins. A revision of *Child Management* is under way and a pamphlet containing a set of lessons in child management has been issued. Many brief folders and dodgers have been issued, including a recent one called *Your Child's Teeth*, written by one of the leading dentists of the country. Other early pamphlets dealt with birth registration, baby saving campaigns, methods of baby saving work in New Zealand, child welfare exhibits,

and infant welfare work by public and private agencies in the United States.

Field studies of child hygiene were conducted in selected rural counties in Kansas, North Carolina, and Wisconsin, in a homesteading county in Montana, in rural areas in Mississippi, and in a mountain county of Kentucky. A study was made of the physical condition and diet of children of preschool age in Gary, Indiana. Other child hygiene publications have dealt with child health conferences, child health centers, malnutrition studies, weights and measures of children under six years of age, outlines for study of the hygiene of maternity and childhood, child mentality and management, nutrition work for preschool children, posture clinics and posture exercises, and milk as a food for children. Standing advisory committees on pediatrics and obstetrics have reviewed and revised popular publications and assisted in planning studies and developing standards of prenatal care and standards for physicians conducting conferences in child health centers. Recent activities include a comprehensive investigation of the possibilities of prevention and community control of rickets, conducted in New Haven, Connecticut, in cooperation with the School of Medicine of Yale University, a study of the health of infants and preschool children in Porto Rico, and studies of the causes of neonatal morbidity and mortality.

Industrial Problems

The industrial division of the bureau has been especially interested in juvenile employment and industrial problems connected with child welfare. It conducts investigations relating to the extent, kinds, and conditions of child labor, the laws affecting the employment of minors and their administration, methods of vocational guidance and juvenile placement, and vocational opportunities for minors. Early studies covered the administration of employment certificate systems, the industrial experience of working children in Boston, the administration of street trades laws, and industrial home work of children. Studies have been made of child welfare in coal-mining areas, of the employment of children in canneries on the Gulf Coast and in the State of Washington, and of conditions of living and child labor in agricultural communities, such as beet fields, truck farms and cotton-growing areas in North Carolina, Colorado, Michigan, Maryland, Texas, Illinois, New Jersey, Virginia and North Dakota, the fruit and hop-growing districts of Washington and Oregon, and certain tobacco-growing areas.

As part of an inquiry into conditions under which children enter industrial life, a study of organized vocational guidance and juvenile placement activities was conducted in cooperation with the United States Employment Service in a number of cities. There have also been studies of occupations for minors in the automobile and metal trades in Michigan, of opportunities for minors in the printing and clothing industries, and of the work histories of continuation school children. These studies took into consideration the effect of schooling and of age at entrance into industry on opportunities for advancement. The report of a comprehensive investigation of the work histories of children of subnormal mentality in a number of communities is nearly ready for press. During the past year the principal undertaking of the industrial division has been the study of work accidents to minors, with special reference to the administration of compensation laws as affecting minors both legally and illegally employed.

Since 1920 the bureau has collected and analyzed current reports of employment certificates issued to children. These figures furnish practically the only source between census years of information indicating the trend in employment of children. They are published annually. The reports for 1930 covered 17 states and 49 cities in 15 other states and the District of Columbia.

Studies of the relation of employment of mothers to child welfare have been made in two cities. An investigation of the opportunities for adequate home and community life afforded children whose fathers are employed as maintenance-of-way men on railroads has been completed. During the industrial depression of 1921 to 1922, the bureau studied the effect of unemployment on child welfare in a middle-western and an eastern city. At the request of the President's Emergency Committee for Employment it undertook, in the fall of 1930, to assemble monthly figures of family relief and relief to the transient and homeless in cities of 50,000 population and more, and is now engaged in field surveys of the effect of the depression on children in selected communities of several states, including communities in coal mining areas where unemployment has been severe for an extended period.

The Handicapped

Through its social service division the Children's Bureau has dealt with the problems of children in need of special care because

of dependency, neglect, delinquency, or mental or physical handicap. Field studies are supplemented by analyses of legislation and other documentary material. They may be divided into two groups: those undertaken for the purpose of obtaining information as to the needs, problems and conditions of the classes of children included in the study, and the methods and standards of the organizations caring for them; and secondly, service studies usually made at the invitation of some state department or other community agency, as a basis for revision of laws or development of more adequate programs for children in the state or locality studied.

Early studies were concerned with mentally defective, and dependent children, and children born out of wedlock. An investigation of mentally defective children in the District of Columbia was followed by two studies in Delaware made in collaboration with the United States Public Health Service. With the development of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, the Children's Bureau did not find it necessary to carry on an extensive program of research in this field. Popular mental hygiene bulletins have been published and a list of psychiatric clinics for children in the United States has been issued.

Extensive investigations of the prevalence and social significance of illegitimacy and the provision made for children born out of wedlock in Massachusetts and other parts of the country led to the formulation, by conferences called by the Children's Bureau in 1920, of standards of legal protection. These standards formed the basis of the uniform law drawn up by the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform Laws which has been adopted in substance by a number of states. Social policies and administrative methods were the subjects of later studies, including one of maternity homes and two relating to experience in keeping children born out of wedlock with their mothers.

Studies of the prevention and treatment of child dependency were made in Delaware and the District of Columbia. Later studies of the prevalence and methods of treatment of problems of dependency, neglect, delinquency and physical and mental handicap, with the object of assisting in the development of state programs, were made in selected counties of North Dakota, South Dakota, Georgia, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Washington, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Illinois. Several bulletins on county organization for child care and protection, including one based on field investigations, have been issued.

Studies have been made of foster home care for dependent children. A handbook for the use of boards of directors and staffs of institutions for dependent children was issued in 1925.

Special work has been done in analysis of legislation, study of administration, and formulation of standards of public aid to dependent children in their own homes, popularly called *mothers' pensions*. A manual for those engaged in the administration of mothers' aid laws is in preparation. Statistics showing the number of families and number of children receiving assistance under mothers' aid laws, expenditures and average monthly grants to each family, have been compiled twice on a nation-wide basis.

Juvenile courts and courts dealing with family problems have been studied in a number of localities, and publications have been issued on the prevention and treatment of juvenile delinquency, the legal aspects, organization and administration of juvenile courts and family courts, and methods of dealing with juvenile offenders against federal laws. In 1923 the bureau issued a pamphlet on *Juvenile Court Standards* which was a report of a committee appointed by the bureau two years before to formulate standards which were later adopted by a conference held under the auspices of the Children's Bureau and the National Probation Association. These standards became the basis of a standard juvenile court law prepared by the National Probation Association.

In 1926 the bureau undertook the development of a uniform plan of obtaining juvenile court statistics. In 1929, 96 courts throughout the country cooperated in this plan, which has produced the first comparative statistics available in this field.

In 1929 a study of the results of institutional treatment provided for delinquent boys in state industrial schools was begun. Equipment, standards of care given and opportunities for training provided, are being studied by a specialist in institutional care. Detailed case studies of boys released from parole supervision three to six years prior to the study are being made.

On July 1, 1930, the Children's Bureau assumed responsibility for the collection of statistics from social and health agencies in some seventeen fields, a work initiated by the Association of Community Chests and Councils in cooperation with the Local Community Research Committee of the University of Chicago. Thirty-eight cities are furnishing monthly reports, tabulated and summarized monthly and annually by the Children's Bureau.

A study of laws governing the child welfare activities of state departments of public welfare and the functions, organization, and administration of such departments in selected states is under way.

Recreation

The work of the Children's Bureau relating to recreation for children has included a study of dance hall regulations and their administration, which also included other aspects of public recreation in the communities selected for field investigation; the preparation of manuals of organized games for both normal and blind children; and the study and development of recreational programs in rural communities. At the request of extension divisions of federal and state departments of agriculture, demonstrations are given to 4-H Clubs and other groups, and institutes are held for groups of club leaders. In the fiscal year ending June 30, 1930, about thirteen thousand persons were assisted in planning and carrying out programs of group play that could be carried back to their own communities.

Educational Publicity

As a method of bringing to the attention of large groups information as to the best methods of child care and protection, the Children's Bureau early developed exhibit material. Child hygiene films produced under bureau supervision portray the essentials of child care, the preparation the mother should make before the baby comes, the beneficial results of posture training, the value of sun baths and cod liver oil in preventing and curing rickets and the advantages of breast feeding. Prints of these films have been purchased by many state departments of health and have been borrowed by public and private organizations. Film strips are available for loan and purchase. Slides, charts, models, and posters are also available for loan, the borrower paying cost of transportation and guaranteeing safe return. During the fiscal year 1930, 1,117 shipments of exhibit material were sent to national, state and local organizations.

Weekly radio talks by the chief of the bureau on subjects connected with child care and child welfare have been broadcast for two years. A child welfare news summary in mimeographed form is issued two or three times a month. The bureau's correspondence is steadily growing, and consists for the most part of letters from individual mothers. About 16,000 letters a month are received.

Standard Setting

From time to time the bureau has cooperated in working out standards in the various fields of child welfare. In 1919 a conference held in Washington at the close of Children's Year produced a tentative draft of what were agreed upon as minimum standards of child welfare. After this draft had been discussed and modified in a series of regional conferences throughout the country, the standards were published by the bureau. They have been widely used as goals for local and state activities and have served as guides in the revision of laws for the protection of children.

Standards of normal development and physical fitness for working children have been formulated by a group of physicians in cooperation with the bureau staff. These standards are a guide to those administering the provisions of child labor laws which relate to requirements as to physical fitness. Advisory committees of obstetricians and pediatricians have formulated standards of prenatal care and standards for physicians conducting conferences in child health centers. The regional conferences mentioned before drafted resolutions forming the basis for a uniform act for the establishment of paternity and the support of children born out of wedlock, and of the juvenile court standards which have been widely used throughout the country.

Cooperation with Public and Private Organizations

From the beginning the bureau has cooperated with national women's organizations as well as with professional organizations in the field of child care. The first activity of this kind was the campaign for birth registration which began in 1915. The following year a national baby week campaign was carried on with the cooperation of every state in the union, during which more than 2,000 communities held local celebrations.

During 1918, a children's year campaign to protect children from the effects of the World War was conducted by the Children's Bureau, with the cooperation of the Women's Committee of the Council of National Defense. A program of child welfare was planned, including public protection of maternity and infancy; mothers' care for older children; enforcement of all child labor laws; full schooling for all children of school age; protection of children handicapped by dependency, delinquency, and physical or mental incapacity; recreation.

The feature of Children's Year which elicited the most wide-

spread response was the weighing and measuring of children under six years of age. More than 7,000,000 record cards for this purpose were requested of the bureau, and more than 2,000,000 were returned filled. Wherever possible, children had medical examinations as well as weighing and measuring. From the record cards sent the bureau, approximately 200,000 records of children who had such examinations and were without significant physical defects, were used to make tables on height and weight for children under six years of age in relation to age, race, and other factors.

During the past few years the bureau has cooperated with the Yale University School of Medicine and the New Haven Department of Health in a demonstration of the methods of prevention and cure of rickets. In cooperation with the public schools of Chelsea, Massachusetts, and the Boston Community Health Service, the bureau has conducted an investigation of the relation of posture to physical fitness. For several years the bureau has been engaged, in cooperation with certain state departments of health and state medical societies, in studies of the causes of maternal mortality. A set of child health posters has been prepared in cooperation with the American Medical Association.

The Children's Bureau has cooperated actively with state commissions for the study and revision of child welfare laws, publishing information about the organization and work of such commissions, furnishing summaries and analyses of laws, reviewing proposed bills, and undertaking field studies. During the past year special service has been given to such commissions in Illinois and Massachusetts. Current state legislative measures pertaining to children are summarized each year in the annual report of the chief of the bureau. Cooperation has also been given in various ways to other state agencies. In 1929 a three day conference of representatives of state departments concerned with child welfare was held in the Children's Bureau. The bureau has assisted in the development of the new American Association of Public Welfare Officials.

During 1930 to 1931 a great deal of time was given by members of the staff to the work of committees in all four sections of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection.

Cooperation is also maintained with international organizations, including the Commission on the Welfare of Children and Young People of the League of Nations, the International American Institute for the Protection of Childhood, and the Pan-American Child Congresses.

The Maternity and Infancy Act

Federal administration of the Maternity and Infancy Act of November 23, 1921 (the Sheppard-Towner Act) was vested in the Children's Bureau, plans for state administration being submitted for approval to a Federal Board of Maternal and Infant Hygiene, of which the chief of the Children's Bureau was chairman. The other members of the board were the Surgeon General of the United States Public Health Service and the Commissioner of Education. Under this act 45 states and Hawaii cooperated with the federal government in promoting the welfare and hygiene of maternity and infancy. The original act authorized an annual appropriation for five years. In January, 1927, a resolution was passed extending this authorization for two years. The act expired June 30, 1929. Bills to continue the type of work carried on, with administration vested in the Children's Bureau, passed both the Senate and the House of Representatives in 1931; the House bill contained a provision for rural health service, in addition to specialized maternity and infancy service, the general health provisions to be administered by the Public Health Service. In the closing days of the session, the amended bill was not acted upon by the Senate.

In its final form, as amended in 1924 to include Hawaii, the Maternity and Infancy Act authorized an annual appropriation of \$1,252,080 of which \$50,354 was made available to the Children's Bureau for federal administration and for research in maternity and infancy problems. The remainder was apportioned to the states and Hawaii as follows: \$5,000 to each outright; an additional \$5,000 to each, granted only if matched by state appropriations; the balance distributed in the proportion that the population of each state bore to the total population of the United States, providing this additional sum was matched by the state. Each state cooperating under the act carried on its maternity and infancy activities through a child hygiene bureau or division, usually in the state department of health. Each cooperating agency formulated the plans of work which it considered best adapted to the conditions in the state, and submitted them for approval to a Federal Board of Maternal and Infant Hygiene. According to the act the state plan had to be approved by the federal board if it was "in conformity with the provisions of the act and reasonably appropriate and adequate to carry out its purposes."

During the period of federal and state cooperation under the

Maternity and Infancy Act, 2,717 of the 2,953 counties in the 45 states and the Territory of Hawaii took part in programs of maternal and child health. Every county in 32 states was reached at some time during the period. From time to time, as directed by the Maternity and Infancy Act, the bureau made studies to aid in the efficient administration of the act.

Though the details of the work differed in the different states, the aim in all was fundamentally educational. Because the large cities already had doctors, nurses, and health departments, the work was primarily for mothers and babies living in the smaller cities and in rural areas. The types of activities may be classified as follows:

Instruction of the individual through any of the following mediums: instruction of parents as to the care of the mother and child at itinerant conferences conducted by physicians and nurses; the same type of individual instruction in conferences at permanent centers; instruction of mothers through home visits by public health nurses; and demonstrations in the home in infant and maternal care

Instruction of groups through lectures, motion pictures, slides, charts, and exhibits; classes in infant care for adolescent girls; classes in infant care and prenatal care for mothers; classes in infant care and prenatal care for teachers to prepare them to include maternity and infancy instruction in their class work; instruction of midwives in groups and occasionally individually; graduate courses for nurses in maternity and infancy work through state or regional conferences and institutes; graduate courses in pediatrics and obstetrics for physicians (usually conducted in conjunction with state or county medical societies)

Instruction through the dissemination of literature prepared by the state or federal government on maternal and infant care and hygiene, child care and management, and other subjects.

PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

The Public Health Service, under the Treasury Department, developed out of the Marine Hospital Service, authorized by an act approved July 16, 1798, to provide medical service for seamen of the American Merchant Marine. By an act of August 14, 1912, Congress changed the name of the Public Health and Marine Hospital Service to the Public Health Service and gave it definite statu-

tory authority to "study and investigate the diseases of man and conditions influencing the propagation and spread thereof, including sanitation and sewage and pollution either directly or indirectly of the navigable streams and lakes of the United States, and it may from time to time issue information in the form of publications for the use of the public."

The following outline of the child hygiene activities of the United States Public Health Service is summarized briefly from a statement submitted by the Surgeon General.

The functions of the Public Health Service under existing authority of law are as follows: protection of the United States from the introduction of disease from without; medical examination and inspection of all arriving aliens and prospective immigrants; prevention of interstate spread of disease and the suppression of epidemics; cooperation with state and local health authorities in public health matters; investigation of the diseases of man; supervision and control of biologic products; public health education and dissemination of health information; maintenance of marine hospitals and relief stations for the care and treatment of certain beneficiaries prescribed by law; confinement and treatment of persons addicted to the use of habit-forming narcotic drugs who have committed offenses against the United States and of addicts who voluntarily submit themselves for treatment; providing medical service in federal prisons.

Appropriations and Staff. The Public Health Service has an Office of Child Hygiene, but its small staff and small allotment of funds by no means indicate the full extent of work the service in general is doing in matters relating to child health and protection. Many of its other activities are related directly or indirectly to child health. To arrive at an approximate estimate of the funds and personnel engaged in research studies affecting child health, it would be necessary to include a part of the work done by the Office on Field Investigations of Nutrition, the Office of Cooperative Rural Health Work, the biologic control work of the National Institute of Health, studies relating to communicable or infectious diseases and certain phases of the studies of industrial hygiene.

Child Hygiene and Sanitation. In 1909 the Public Health Service published a study of *milk* and its relation to the public health, emphasizing the disastrous effects of impure milk on the health of young children. In 1914 a pamphlet was issued on bacteriological standards for milk. From time to time studies have been made of pasteurization and inspection of production and distribution of milk and milk prod-

ucts. In 1919 and 1920 a field study was made of dried milk powder as a food for infants. Milk sanitation studies were begun in 1922, and assistance has been given to states in formulating milk laws and ordinances and in the formulation of milk sanitation programs. By 1926 the efforts of the service towards the unification of milk control resulted in the adoption of a standard ordinance by the Conference of the State and Territorial Health Officers. At present 14 states and 327 cities have adopted the ordinance.

Infant and Maternal Mortality. In 1913 the service published a study of the relation of heat to infant mortality. In 1927 a critical study was made of published data relating to the problem of early infant deaths both before birth and within the first month. In the same year an analysis of census material on infant mortality in urban and rural sections of the United States still further emphasized the need of research into the causes of fetal and neonatal death. In 1928 an analysis of census data on infant and maternal mortality in the United States was published.

Diseases of Childhood. The service has given much attention to the study of certain diseases to which children are peculiarly susceptible or which constitute a decided handicap to their progress. For many years attention has been focussed on anterior poliomyelitis, which is most prevalent under five years of age.

An act approved July 1, 1902, placed the supervision of the manufacture, barter and sale of viruses, serums, toxins and related products in the hands of the Public Health Service. Measles, scarlet fever, and diphtheria have been studied. In an epidemiological study of diphtheria, the service cooperated with the Johns Hopkins University School of Hygiene and Public Health. A statistical study of the common infectious diseases of childhood showed that the incidence of these diseases declines as age increases.

The work on pellagra has an important relation to child health because the disease is one which affects children with marked frequency. The feeding experiments carried out to determine the effect of diet on the production of the disease and its value in prevention warranted the placing of pellagra in the group of deficiency diseases, and other studies pointed the way to its prevention and cure.

Much time and attention has been devoted to study of hookworm disease, which was found to be widely prevalent among southern school children. Both laboratory and field studies have been made, and the service has cooperated with the International Health Division of the Rockefeller Foundation and state boards of health in research

and technical matters. Studies of the prevalence, nature, treatment, and prevention of this disease have been undertaken.

In 1923 the Public Health Service made a study of malaria to determine the effect of chronic or repeated acute attacks of malaria on the physical development of the school child, and to determine the relative value of blood examinations and enlargement of the spleen in school children as an index of malaria prevalence.

An exhaustive statistical study of tonsillitis was published in 1927.

School Hygiene. For many years the Public Health Service has been actively interested in the health of the school child and conditions of school life. During a period of sixteen years over one million one hundred and eighty thousand school children were given physical or mental examinations of some kind in the course of various surveys or special studies in which the service was interested. The sanitation of schools and surroundings; the prevalence of certain diseases and of dental defects; the apparent relation of sanitary environment to school progress; the control of communicable disease; the physical development of children of "old American" stock; the vision of school children; the mental and physical status of white and Negro children; and the general program of school health have all been the subjects of investigation. Attention has been given to the hygiene of rural schools, where both sanitation and medical supervision are often sadly lacking.

In 1917 a study was made of school health administration in Framingham, Massachusetts, and a few years later a special survey of school health supervision in Minneapolis. Rather extensive studies have been made of sickness and other causes of absence from school among school children.

Nutrition. Studies in nutrition have been carried on in the field, in the National Institute of Health and in cooperation with the Advisory Committee of Foods and Nutrition of the National Child Health Council in the preparation of a bulletin on the subject of malnutrition in children. Nutrition studies were made a prominent feature in many field investigations of general child hygiene. A definite piece of research work in this line was carried on in Baltimore in order to study the effect of physical defects and their elimination on growth and development. A special study was made in 1922 of the relation of educational acceleration to the pupil's nutrition.

Posture. In 1922 the service made a study of posture in relation to school life, including the relation of the posture of school children to nutrition, physical defects, school grade, and physical training.

Child Health Administration. With the awakening of interest in child hygiene immediately following the war, there was a widespread demand for state work in this field. Many states appealed to the service for assistance in organizing their department of child hygiene or in special phases of child health work. The service responded to these appeals as far as possible and has assisted Missouri, Delaware, Georgia, Mississippi, Montana, Florida, Utah, Virginia, Nevada, and Texas in solving some of their child hygiene problems.

Oral Hygiene. Studies made by medical officers of the service in the early years of child hygiene investigations revealed the presence of dental defects in school children in excess of all other physical defects. In 1920 it was decided to make a special investigation of mouth hygiene problems. In this and the few years following special investigations of dental conditions were made in a number of states.

Vision of School Children. Studies of illumination were undertaken in 1923 to 1924 to show the effect of astronomical factors and of school room construction and allied conditions on the adequacy of the natural illumination of classrooms. In cooperation with the health department and board of education of the District of Columbia an intensive study of the vision of school children was begun in 1924 and is still in progress.

Health Education. Because of the importance of educating children in health, a study was undertaken of the courses in health education and related material issued by the several state departments of education. The health education work of the service also includes publications on maternity, infant, and child care, radio broadcasts on child health, newspaper articles on the health of children, child hygiene articles for the bulletin of the Pan-American Sanitary Office, and an extensive information service.

Negro Children. A request received by the service for information concerning Negro children led to a realization of the fact that very little reliable data on this subject were available. In 1925 the service began a comprehensive study of the physical and mental condition of a large group of Negro school children. Physical examination and measurements of 5,000 children had been obtained by the end of the school year. Psychological examinations of a large number of the children were also made and the results of approximately 3,000 mental tests were secured.

Mental Hygiene. The Public Health Service early took cognizance of the high percentage of feeble-mindedness and the considerable number of potentially insane children who are without intelligent

mental prophylaxis. Studies have been made with a view to working out practical suggestions for diminishing the incidence of preventable mental deficiency. Mental surveys of children were undertaken in Maryland, Georgia, New York, Arkansas, Delaware, Oregon, South Carolina, Massachusetts, Indiana, and the District of Columbia.

In Massachusetts studies of behavior situations among children with special reference to the foreign-born population, were made in 1923 to 1924. Cases were studied in relation to the attitude of parents and children toward problems arising in domestic life, their relationship to the evolution of anomalies in behavior among children, and their influence in the development of nervous symptoms in childhood.

Records of physical measurements, physical defects and mental status of about 8,000 school children were collected in Illinois from 1923 to 1925, in cooperation with the Illinois Institute for Juvenile Research.

The Child Hygiene Office of the Public Health Service is now pursuing specific studies in the following fields: the relation of diet and climate to dental caries; mental studies of children of various types of birth; the vision of school children; the mental status of children of patients of a state hospital for the insane.

THE OFFICE OF EDUCATION

The Office of Education was originally established as a department under the act of March 2, 1867; in 1869 it became a bureau of the Department of the Interior. For many years it was called the Bureau of Education, but in 1929 the name given in the organic act was reinstated "so that the Office of Education no longer functions under the name 'bureau' with its administrative connotations."

The Office of Education is required by law to collect information about educational conditions in the various states and Territories and to disseminate this information as to promote the cause of education throughout the country. As stated in a bulletin issued by the Department of the Interior: "The Office acts as a clearing house of information and aims to make available to all the states the experience and achievements of the most progressive educational systems and institutions and to save costly duplication and experiment. It also supervises the expenditure of funds appropriated by Congress for land-grant colleges."

Reorganization has been effected during the past two years, the status of the commissioner has been raised and the post of assistant commissioner created, relieving the commissioner of practically all

administrative responsibilities. His main functions now consist of educational research activities and the expenditure of funds appropriated by the federal government for the maintenance of colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts in the various states.

Until 1931 the Office of Education was charged with responsibility for educational and medical services for the natives of Alaska. This function has been transferred to the Office of Indian Affairs in the Department of the Interior.

The work of the Office of Education, all of which is under the general supervision of the Commissioner of Education, includes investigation of colleges and professional schools, American school systems, foreign school systems, special problems (including education of indigenous people, exceptional children, Negro and isolated people in rural communities and statistical research. It offers services for adult education, school building problems, commercial education, home economics education, reading courses and parent education, physical education, education by radio, and conducts national surveys of secondary education and the education of teachers. There are also administrative and editorial divisions and a library service.

The staff consists of 103 professional and 92 clerical and office employees. The appropriation for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1931, is \$488,880.

The Office of Education makes upon request surveys of school systems and of individual schools, and it has a corps of specialists who advise educators on various problems. National or regional conferences are held on educational subjects.

Since 1918 a monthly magazine, *School Life* has been issued. Other publications include circulars in mimeographed form, pamphlets and leaflets and a bulletin series devoted to monographs and studies of permanent value. A biennial *Survey of Education* is issued in two volumes, one statistical and the other an explanation of educational progress and trends.

The Office of Education collects and publishes biennially statistics of special schools and classes in public schools for feeble-minded and subnormal children and for the deaf and the blind, and industrial schools for delinquents. During the last fiscal year bulletins were published on *Special Schools and Classes in Cities of 10,000 Population and More in the United States*, *Education of Crippled Children*, *Schools and Classes for Delicate Children*. A series of articles was initiated describing the equipment and administration of representative school systems for the education of the handicapped.

THE BUREAU OF HOME ECONOMICS

The Bureau of Home Economics, established in the Department of Agriculture July 1, 1923, has made an important contribution to child welfare. The purpose of the bureau is defined in the appropriations act creating it as: ". . . to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to investigate the relative utility and economy of agricultural products for food, clothing and other uses in the home, with special suggestions of plans and methods for the more effective utilization of such products for these purposes, and to disseminate useful information on this subject." The bureau is organized into three divisions: Economics, Textiles and Clothing, and Foods and Nutrition.

The Bureau of Home Economics has made the following studies directly concerned with the needs of children: dietaries of families and institutions; vitamin content of foods; chemical composition of foods; the hygienic aspect of clothing design and fabric construction; children's clothing from the standpoint of health, habit training, and utilization of fabrics; the use of time by the homemaker and the economic value of housework; family budget making and the keeping of accounts; food selection to insure a well balanced diet; modern laundering and cleaning methods, and other problems of household management. Pamphlets issued on these subjects have a wide distribution and there are increasing demands on the information service. The bureau reports that it received 20,000 letters requesting information on some phase of home economics during the last fiscal year.

At the end of the fiscal year 1930 the bureau had 72 employees, about half of whom comprised the research staff, the rest being engaged in administrative and clerical work. The appropriation available for the bureau for the year ending June 30, 1931, is \$207,700.

THE EXTENSION SERVICE, DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

The ultimate object of the extension service, as stated in the last annual report of the director, is: "to bring about improvement in agriculture, home economics, and rural life through changed farmers and farm women." The service consists of the office of the director, the office of cooperative extension work, the office of exhibits, and the office of motion pictures. The office of cooperative extension work represents the department in the cooperative extension work in agriculture and home economics conducted by the state agricultural

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colleges and the department under the Smith-Lever and Capper-Ketcham Acts.

The work of its home demonstration agents is of special interest to child welfare. A report dated 1930 states that such agents were employed in 1,200 counties, and visited 223,406 farms, during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1930, giving attention to nutrition, better home keeping methods, and the making, care and renovation of clothing.

The program of the Extension Service includes the 4-H Club for interesting boys and girls in the study of agricultural and home-making activities. The annual report of the service estimates that in 1929, 756,096 farm boys and girls were enrolled in these clubs. In 1929 special efforts were made to interest boys and girls in their later teens in the 4-H program. College short courses for these young people were developed during the year. The activities are designed to meet their economic as well as their social needs.

An interesting feature of the program of the service is work in the field of rural recreation, which has been undertaken on the theory that "it is as much a part of extension work to teach people how to enjoy their leisure as it is to create this leisure by teaching them how to raise their income."

THE FEDERAL BOARD FOR VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

The Federal Board for Vocational Education was created in 1917 as an independent establishment. It consists of the Secretary of Agriculture, the Secretary of Commerce, the Secretary of Labor, the Commissioner of Education and three citizens of the United States appointed by the President, with the consent of the Senate. One of the functions of the board is to study the problems of vocational education, to supervise vocational education activities carried on by states with the aid of federal grants.

As far back as 1862 federal aid for vocational education was provided through the Morrill Act, granted land to the states and Territories, the proceeds from the sale of which was to be used to endow at least one college devoted to the teaching of agriculture and the mechanical arts. An act of 1887 provided for an annual appropriation from the proceeds of the sale of public lands to each state for the maintenance of an agricultural experiment station. Further appropriations for similar purposes were authorized in 1890, 1906 and 1907. In 1914 the Smith-Lever Act was passed, providing for

annual appropriations to the states for the use of land-grant colleges in disseminating information regarding agriculture and home economics.

These grants had made provision for vocational education through colleges. Beginning about 1903 there was an insistent demand for similar federal aid for vocational education in the lower schools. In 1914 a Federal Commission on National Aid to Vocational Education was created by act of Congress to consider the subject of national aid for vocational education. As a result of the work of this commission the Smith-Hughes Vocational Education Act was passed in 1917 and approved February 23, of that year. It provided for cooperation with the states in the promotion of vocational education. The Smith-Fess Vocational Rehabilitation Act, approved June 2, 1920, and amended and extended in 1924 and 1930, provided for the promotion of vocational rehabilitation of persons disabled in industry or otherwise and their return to civil employment.

In 1924 the benefits of the Vocational Education and Vocational Rehabilitation Acts were extended to the Territory of Hawaii but the Territory has not accepted the Vocational Rehabilitation Act. An act of March 3, 1931, which becomes effective for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1932, provided appropriations for Porto Rico for vocational education and vocational rehabilitation. An act providing for the vocational rehabilitation of disabled residents of the District of Columbia was approved February 23, 1929.

The activities of the Board for Vocational Education are confined to supervision of the work done by the states and study of the subject of vocational education and rehabilitation. In order to secure the benefits of the appropriations the states must accept the provisions of the acts through their legislatures, match the federal appropriations, and designate a state board having power to cooperate with the federal board in their administration. Each state is free to set up any program adapted to its needs. The state plan is submitted to the federal board for its approval in so far as it is proposed to use federal funds for the work.

The cooperative program of vocational education has been entered into by the 48 states and Hawaii. During the year ending June 30, 1930, the federal government provided \$7,404,223.18 for vocational education and \$22,505,072.69 was available from state and local funds. For vocational rehabilitation federal funds provided \$735,361.77 and state and local funds \$956,559.79.

The report of the board for the year ending June 30, 1930,

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states that enrolment in vocational schools and courses during the year exceeded a million pupils, young and old. Three types of vocational schools have been established as part of the public schools systems in each of the 48 states: "(1) the day school for boys and girls who have chosen an occupation and desire training for it; (2) the part-time school for persons who are employed and can devote part of the day to getting systematic instruction and training in the line of their employment; and (3) the evening school for workers who desire to devote some time outside their regular employment hours to improving their efficiency in the occupation in which they are engaged."

THE BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

A most important child welfare function is carried on by the Bureau of the Census in the Department of Commerce in the collection and publication of statistics of births and infant and child mortality. The permanent Census Act, approved March 6, 1902, authorized the annual collection of birth statistics, but the Birth Registration Area was not established until 1915, when the report included data for ten states and the District of Columbia. In 1931 the registration area contains 46 states, the District of Columbia and the Virgin Islands. No state is eligible for admission to the registration area until it has had a satisfactory registration law in successful operation. In the Birth Registration Area of the continental United States, there were in 1929, 2,169,920 live births and 85,678 stillbirths. The total number of infants under one year of age in the Birth Registration Area was 146,661, or a ratio of 67.6 to every thousand live births.

In addition to the collection of vital statistics of births and deaths, the Bureau of the Census receives from various states data on marriages and divorces. In his report for the year ending June 30, 1929, the director reported that statistics of marriages were obtained from 29 states and statistics of divorces from 16.

At intervals of about ten years, beginning in 1880, the bureau has made special enumerations of dependent children. The first three, in 1880, 1890, and 1904, included only children in institutions. The last two, in 1910 and 1923, included also child placing and protective agencies. Statistics of juvenile delinquents in institutions have been collected in connection with a decennial census of prisoners. In 1923

the results were published in the volume containing data on dependent children.

The Bureau of the Census collects data for an annual census of the following federal and state institutions: prisons and reformatories, institutions for mental patients, and institutions for the feeble-minded and for epileptics. In December, 1930, Congress enacted a bill authorizing the director of the Census "to compile and publish annually statistics relating to crime and to the defective, dependent and delinquent classes."

Through the decennial population census and its allied enumerations, the federal government furnishes information that is of fundamental importance in the study of child welfare. The director of the census, in discussing the plans for the use of the 1930 enumeration, has recognized the interest and value of social data on the family, and holds out the hope that material not heretofore available may be analyzed from the 1930 census. "The population schedule contains not only data regarding the individual but equally valuable data regarding the family of which the individual is a member. The latter class of data has been entirely neglected in the past. It is hoped that this may not be the case in the coming census."

ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES FOR SPECIAL GROUPS OR LOCALITIES

The federal government has undertaken administrative services in behalf of minors who are beneficiaries of the Veterans' Bureau, through the organization in 1926 of a Guardianship Division of the Bureau. The Office of Indian Affairs of the Department of the Interior exercises control over matters relating to Indians who are wards of the government. The Columbia Institution for the Deaf is conducted under the Department of the Interior. The Department of Justice is charged with the management of the National Training School for Boys, and the Bureau of Prisons of this department has supervision over probation in the federal courts and of prisoners in federal and state institutions. Of the federal prisoners received from the courts during the fiscal year 1930, 10.7 per cent were under twenty years of age. Probation for federal offenders is also a function of the Department of Justice.

Some degree of direct administrative responsibility has been assumed by the federal government in the Territories of Alaska and Hawaii, the Philippine Islands, Porto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Guam,

American Samoa and the Panama Canal Zone. Matters relating to the administration of the Territories of Alaska and Hawaii and, since 1930, the Virgin Islands, are under the jurisdiction of the Department of the Interior. The Bureau of Insular Affairs of the War Department has jurisdiction over Porto Rico, the Philippine Islands and the Panama Canal Zone, and the Navy Department over Guam and American Samoa.

The Guardianship Division of the United States Veterans' Bureau

The Guardianship Division of the Legal Service of the United States Veterans' Bureau, organized in September, 1926, is a protective agency in its relation to child welfare.

As defined by the director of the division, the children reached by the service are: children of deceased veterans, whose mothers have either died or remarried, and who are entitled to benefits either of compensation, insurance or adjusted compensation (bonus); children of disabled veterans living apart from the veteran and not in the custody of the wife of the veteran, and on whose account an apportioned share of the disabled veteran's compensation is payable. The total number of minor beneficiaries under guardianship as of January 31, 1931, was approximately thirty-nine thousand.

Prior to the organization of this special activity no attempt was made to supervise the use of funds paid guardians. The attention of the bureau was called to many cases in which money was not being used for the sole benefit of wards. There was an insistent demand for some sort of supervision to eliminate waste and embezzlement and protect the interests and welfare of the beneficiaries. The unsatisfactory conditions fell under two heads: unsatisfactory administration of the wards' estates, and unsatisfactory living conditions of the wards, involving all degrees of negligence.

An investigation was conducted in 1923 by a Senate committee. In 1924 the War Risk Insurance Act was amended to give the director authority to suspend payments to any guardian who should "neglect or refuse after reasonable notice to render an account to the director from time to time showing the application of such payments for the benefit of such minor or incompetent beneficiary." Under this act a guardianship service was organized in 1924 and 1925, first under a control service and then as an independent division. Several guardians were successfully prosecuted under the penal provision of the act, and it was demonstrated that the guardianship

program of the division must be extended. The law as amended allows the director complete discretion in handling the payments to beneficiaries under legal disability. It empowers him to select a guardian to be appointed by the court. It permits the director, if the agent is unsuitable, to assume the guardianship and disburse or retain the funds until a suitable guardian is appointed or the need for one ceases.

The Guardianship Division is one of three divisions comprising the Legal Service of the Veterans' Bureau. The work of the division is conducted almost entirely in the regional offices of the bureau and the sub-offices in the territorial possessions.

The guardianship work of the regional attorneys is closely connected with the work of two other services, the Adjudication Service and the Medical Service. When the Adjudication Service determines that benefits are payable to an incompetent or a minor claimant, the regional attorney appoints a fiduciary, and supervises the case until the guardianship terminates. In order to maintain supervision over the ward's estate, the regional attorney secures annually a "social survey report." The form on which this report is made out when minor beneficiaries are concerned calls for information in regard to the appearance and school progress of the child, composition of the household, remarks concerning home standards and neighborhood conditions, and information in regard to action that has been taken by any local social agency for correcting adverse situations. Some of these surveys are made by trained psychiatric social workers who are assigned to the Medical Service and are used by that service in connection with the medical supervision of beneficiaries. Investigations are also made by personnel assigned to the regional attorney's office.

Office of Indian Affairs

Management of Indian affairs was assigned to the War Department by the act creating that department in 1789; in 1824 a Bureau of Indian Affairs was organized. In 1849, when the Department of the Interior was created, the Bureau of Indian Affairs was transferred from military to civil control. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, is charged with "the management of all Indian affairs and of all matters arising out of Indian relations." In 1930 the name of the Indian service was changed to the Office of Indian Affairs.

Exclusive of the five civilized tribes in Oklahoma, the number of Indians in the United States is estimated to be about two hundred

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and fifty thousand,¹ not all of whom are under the actual supervision of the Office of Indian Affairs.

In the fiscal year 1930 approximately 72,000 Indian children were reported by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs as attending schools. Of the whole number of school children, 38,000 attended public schools; 4,000 lived at home and went to government day schools; 12,000 were in reservation boarding schools; nearly 12,000 were in boarding schools away from their own reservations; 6,000 attended mission and other private schools. The government paid tuition for Indian children in 861 white communities and hundreds of other communities admitted Indian children without tuition.

Within the past two or three years, the federal government's method of dealing with these children and with its adult Indian wards has been the subject of much investigation and discussion and of some constructive legislation. Governmental authorities have recognized that there is urgent need for change in the policies and administrative practices of the Indian Service, and definite steps have been taken to correct some of the outstanding abuses of the system and build up a better social, health, and educational program.

The Institute for Government Research was requested by the Bureau of Indian Affairs to investigate and write a report on its administration. In this report, *The Problem of Indian Administration*, published in 1928, the following observations are made on health and living conditions among the Indian wards of the Government: "The health of the Indians as compared with that of the general population is bad. . . . The prevailing living conditions among the great majority of the Indians are conducive to the development and spread of disease. . . . The income of the typical Indian family is low and the earned income extremely low." The report points out that inadequate appropriations have prevented the development of an adequate system of public health administration and medical relief work, and discusses at length the shortcomings of the educational program.

This report makes an interesting comment on the way in which the federal government has run counter to modern social policies in its provision for the education of Indian children: "The Indian Service has not appreciated the fundamental importance of family life and community activities in the social and economic development of a people. The tendency has been rather toward weakening Indian

¹ *The Problem of Indian Administration*. Institute for Government Research, The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1928. 872 pp.

family life and community activities than toward strengthening them. The long continued policy of removing Indian children from the home and placing them for years in a boarding school largely disintegrates the family and interferes with developing normal family life. The belief has apparently been that the shortest road to civilization is to take children away from their parents and in so far as possible to stamp out the old Indian life." Although more children are now in public schools than in special Indian schools, the report says that the reservation or non-reservation boarding school is the "dominant characteristic of the school system maintained by the national government."

The survey characterizes provisions for the care of Indian children in boarding schools as grossly inadequate, with outstanding deficiencies in diet, overcrowding in dormitories, and a medical service below a reasonable standard. The schools are supported largely by the labor of students and too little attention is given to education. It points out that Indians are voters and citizens of the states, so that the state is responsible as well as the federal government. A plan for vocational education is contemplated which emphasizes education in trades, agriculture, commercial arts, and home making in cooperation with the states.

Cooperation by the Indian Service with government bureaus having staffs of specialists was urged; the Children's Bureau, the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the Employment Service of the Department of Labor, the Bureau of Home Economics, and the Public Health Service were specifically mentioned.

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs in his annual report for the year ending June 30, 1930, says: "Trachoma, tuberculosis, and diseases of infancy and childhood continue to constitute the outstanding health problems of the Indian population." He describes the health measures and the educational program designed to control the spread of tuberculosis and plans for instruction in the care and feeding of infants and children. Steps have been taken by the administration to raise the standards of teaching and other educational services in Indian schools. The policy of educating Indian children in boarding schools is being questioned.

Congress has granted funds for increased attention to health, education, welfare and employment. The Indian Bureau is being reorganized and an increased appropriation has been made available for its activities. The present emphasis is on increasing public school provision as rapidly as it can be brought about. The commissioner

mentions as important factors the attitude of the white people of local communities toward Indian children, remoteness from public school facilities, home conditions, need for institutional care, possibilities of health follow-up, and the fact that social work is not ordinarily available in the small rural communities in which many of the Indian children live.

The Secretary of the Interior sums up the problem as follows in his report for the last fiscal year:

"Common sense administration of the affairs of the Indian was not possible under old conditions, since much that should be done by administration has been done by legislation. There is a real opportunity at the present time for some constructive legislation by Congress which would open the way to a more efficient operation of the problem of the Indian. Concrete suggestions have been laid before Congress by the Indian Service. The old situation is unsound and will remain so until the Indian takes his place side by side with the rest of our citizenship, with the normal self-respect that goes with self-support. The Indian boy and girl should be given an education up to the average of the white boy and girl with whom they must compete if they are to become self-supporting. In the past for the most part the schools have not gone beyond the lower grammar grades. Our whole program should be to give the Indian child increasing opportunities and independence as rapidly as he can be trained."

Notable progress has been made within the past year or two in the policies and administrative methods pursued by the federal government in relation to its Indian wards.

Education of the Deaf

The Columbia Institution for the Deaf was established by act of Congress, February 16, 1857. The school is managed by a board of directors, which includes one senator and two representatives. It is supported mainly by congressional appropriations. Supervision of expenditures of government funds is lodged in the board of directors. Admission to the institution of "indigent beneficiaries of the States and Territories" is subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior.

The advanced department, known as Gallaudet College, had under instruction during the year ending June 30, 1930, 131 students,

representing 35 states and the District of Columbia. The primary department, known as the Kendall School, had 64 pupils, 59 of whom were from the District of Columbia.

*Treatment of the Delinquent*¹

The federal government, except in federal territory, has never made provision for special treatment of juveniles arrested by federal authorities and dealt with in federal courts. They are subjected to arrest, jail detention, and public trial under criminal procedure, just as though they were adults. The National Training School for Boys and the National Training School for Girls, both in the District of Columbia or in nearby territory in Maryland, receive children committed by the juvenile court of the District of Columbia, and the federal courts throughout the country. Arrangements with certain state institutions are made by the federal government for the care of juvenile offenders. Probation in federal courts was not authorized until 1925. Great expansion of the federal probation staff in the Bureau of Prisons of the Department of Justice has taken place during the past year, but the case loads are still too heavy to permit intensive service. In February, 1931, the average number of cases handled by each officer was one hundred and fifty-nine.

Proceedings in federal courts are formal and frequently include several preliminary hearings followed by grand jury action and public trial. Long delays are often occasioned by crowded calendars, absence of continuous sessions, and distance of the court from the child's place of residence. Children dealt with by federal courts are more likely to be detained in jail than when dealt with by juvenile or other state courts.

The National Training School for Boys is governed by a board of trustees appointed by the President, and is under the general jurisdiction of the Department of Justice. On July 1, 1930, the number of children committed by federal courts, exclusive of the juvenile court of the District of Columbia, in the institution was 464. There were 320 new admissions of such children during the year, and 687 were in the institution at some time during the year. Of

¹ See *The Delinquent Child*. A Publication of the White House Conference, New York, The Century Co., 1932; also comprehensive survey being made by Dr. Miriam Van Waters for the National Committee on Law Observation and Enforcement, under the auspices of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection.

the 320 new admissions, 14 were parole violators or escaped children returned. The remainder were received from courts in 25 states, of which the farthest west were Missouri, Oklahoma, and North Dakota. They were committed for terms of from one to six years, or in 55 cases, for minority. Twenty-seven delinquent children were committed to the institution by the juvenile court of the District of Columbia during the year.

The National Training School for Girls was formerly under the same form of control as the boys' school, but it was placed under the jurisdiction of the District of Columbia Board of Public Welfare in 1926. On July 1, 1930, the population was 98, 14 white, 84 colored. Of the total number only 6, 4 white and 2 colored, had been committed from the states as federal offenders.

The Bureau of Prisons administers the federal penal and correctional institutions and supervises the care of federal prisoners who are confined in non-federal institutions. Its administration has been reorganized under a law effective on May 14, 1930. A federal Board of Parole was created by act of Congress in 1930. The annual report on federal penal and correctional institutions for the year ending June 30, 1930, shows that 1,122 out of 10,496 (10.7 per cent) federal long-term prisoners received from courts during the year were under twenty years of age. Of these, 305 (including one boy above twenty years of age) were committed to the National Training School for Boys. The Federal Industrial Institution for Women at Alderson, West Virginia, opened in 1927, the only penal institution for women maintained by the federal government, received from courts 19 girls under twenty years of age during the year. The federal penitentiaries received the following numbers under the age of twenty: Atlanta, 162; Leavenworth, 140; McNeil Island, 22; Chillicothe, 404. State institutions caring for federal prisoners received 67 boys and 3 girls under twenty years of age.

On July 1, 1930, 166 children, 155 boys and 11 girls, under the age of eighteen years were on probation to federal probation officers. By December 31, 1930, 39 of the 43 federal districts having probation service reported 271 boys and 12 girls under eighteen on probation.

The Delinquent Child says on this subject that, "The undertaking by the Department of Justice to modernize its institutions and probation services for adults is most commendable. It is, however, one of such proportions that unless there is special organization and special consideration of the problems of juvenile offenders their

needs are almost certain to be neglected. By taking the children from under the criminal procedure of the federal statutes and through the Children's Bureau developing cooperation with local agencies, it should be possible to develop a federal-state working relationship which would insure the utilization of local resources and special provisions for federal offenders in the areas in which adequate local care cannot be secured."

The District of Columbia

Legislation for the District of Columbia is enacted by Congress, and public child welfare organizations in the District of Columbia receive their funds from Congressional appropriations. The government of the district is vested in three commissioners appointed by the President. Public welfare work is carried on by the Board of Public Welfare, the nine members of which are appointed by the district commissioners. The board has complete control and management of hospitals, penal and reformatory institutions for adults, and other institutions, including the following institutions for children: The National Training School for Girls, the District Training School for the Feeble-minded, two industrial home schools, one for white boys and girls and one for colored boys, and a receiving home for children.

Dependent, neglected, and delinquent children may be committed to the guardianship of the board by the juvenile court. The Child Welfare Division supervises the care and training of children so committed, providing for them in foster family homes, chiefly boarding homes, or institutions. During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1930, 667 children were committed to the division, and on July 1, 1930, 1,758 children were under its guardianship.

Prior to 1926 the District of Columbia made no provision for public relief to dependent families or children in their own homes. In that year a mothers' aid law of broad scope was passed, providing for public aid to children whose parents are unable to provide proper care in their own homes. The law is administered by the Division of Home Care for Dependent Children of the Board of Public Welfare. The board reported 142 families with 516 children as receiving monthly allowances under this act on July 1, 1930. The appropriations are not sufficient to provide aid for all who are eligible, and private agencies still have to carry part of the burden.

The juvenile court law provides in reality a criminal court for children, though the judges have tried from time to time to modify

the procedure in the interests of the child. No amendments have been made since the law was passed in 1906, though numerous attempts have been made to secure revisions. In her annual report for the year ending June 30, 1930, the judge pointed out that half the children that come before the juvenile court could, if the policemen were so disposed, be taken into the police court with adult criminals, held for the grand jury in the district jail, and later held for trial.

Appropriations for maternity and child hygiene activities in the District of Columbia, administered by the health department, are recognized as being inadequate. This department maintains prenatal and child hygiene centers and a public health nursing service. A private agency, the Instructive Visiting Nurse Society, carries on extensive child hygiene and public health nursing activities. Studies of the health facilities of Washington have been made by the United States Bureau of Efficiency and the American Public Health Association.

Increased facilities for health and social service in the schools, and the development of vocational training, guidance and placement are likewise needed. A community child-guidance clinic under private auspices recently has been established. In the police department a well organized women's bureau has functioned for many years, but attempts to obtain legislation establishing the bureau upon a permanent basis have not, as yet, been successful.

Most of the voluntary provision for dependent and neglected children in the District of Columbia takes the form of institutional care. Many of the institutions are without provision for case work service. During the past year, under the auspices of the Council of Social Agencies, a successful experiment in case discussions and conferences by a group of board and staff members of various institutions has been carried on.

Extensive study of the public welfare needs of the District of Columbia was carried on by the Public Welfare Commission of the District of Columbia appointed in 1921. The law establishing the board of public welfare and the mothers' aid law were results of the work of the commission. In 1931 the appropriations committee of the House of Representatives adopted a resolution presented by Representative Clarence McLeod, calling on the District Commissioners to direct and supervise a study of conditions of health and welfare of children of the District of Columbia and make recommendations to the next regular session of Congress. They are further requested to conduct a public conference with reference to the health

and welfare of children. A committee of public officials has been appointed to initiate the work contemplated by the resolution.

Territories and Insular Possessions

Government and Population. With the exception of Alaska, which became a Territory of the United States through purchase from Russia in 1867, all the present outlying possessions of the United States have been acquired within the last thirty-three years. The Philippine Islands, Porto Rico and the Island of Guam were ceded to the United States by the Treaty of Paris in 1898, following the Spanish-American War. The Samoan Islands became a possession through a treaty with Great Britain and Germany in 1899. Hawaii voluntarily joined the United States and was created a Territory in 1900. The Panama Canal Zone was ceded to the United States by Panama in 1903, and the Virgin Islands were purchased from Denmark in a treaty proclaimed in 1917.

Two types of administrative authority are exercised by the Federal Government in the Territories and islands. The first type is found in the Territories of Alaska and Hawaii, the Philippines, Porto Rico and the Virgin Islands; the governor is appointed by the President of the United States; all legislation relating to internal affairs of the islands is enacted by local legislative bodies, the governor having power of veto. In Alaska a distinction is made between native Indians, who are the direct responsibility of the Department of the Interior, and the rest of the population which is under the jurisdiction of local legislative and administrative bodies. The second type, that of direct control, is found in Guam, Samoa and the Panama Canal Zone. Guam and Samoa are governed by the navy. The Panama Canal Zone is a military reservation, administered by the War Department.

The present tendency is toward transferring government to civilian control. In pursuance of this policy the Virgin Islands were placed under civil government in 1930, when they were transferred from the Navy Department to the Department of the Interior.

Other recent changes looking toward more effective administration include the appointment by President Hoover, for Alaska, of a board of three commissioners to recommend plans for handling many problems on the spot that formerly were referred to Washington. This board, appointed early in 1931, is composed of representatives from the Departments of the Interior, Commerce and Agriculture, resi-

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dent in Alaska. On March 15, 1931, supervision of education and medical relief among the natives of Alaska was transferred from the Office of Education to the Bureau of Indian Affairs, both in the Department of the Interior.

The aggregate population of the Territories and islands over which the federal government exercises some form of direct control is approximately 14,665,000. The latest available figures from the Census of 1930 show a total of 5,936,440 children under eighteen years of age. Within a period of little more than three decades the United States has assumed responsibility for about 6,000,000 children, one-seventh as many as the total population of these ages in the continental United States.

Total	Children under eighteen years, 1930 Census 5,936,440
Alaska.....	20,329
Hawaii.....	151,963
Philippine Islands.....	5,000,000 ^a
Porto Rico.....	730,403
Virgin Islands.....	8,182
Guam.....	8,915
American Samoa.....	5,008
Panama Canal Zone.....	11,640

^a Estimate. The Bureau of the Census reports that an enumeration of the population of the Philippine Archipelago as of December 31, 1918, included 4,636,990 persons under eighteen years of age in one section and another section included 423,406 persons under twenty-one years of age. From these figures it is assumed that the number of children under eighteen years of age as of July 1, 1930, is at least 5,000,000.

The composition of the population is an important factor in economic and social backgrounds and programs for child welfare. In the Territories and insular possessions there is a wide diversity of racial elements. About half of the total population of Alaska, which in 1930 was 59,278, are native Indians. Of the population of Hawaii, 368,336 persons, less than one-tenth, are native Hawaiians. The population includes large percentages of Japanese, Filipinos, Portuguese, Chinese, Caucasian-Hawaiians, Asiatic-Hawaiians, Porto Ricans, Spaniards, and Koreans. A small percentage are Caucasians. The greater part of the population of the Philippines, which was approximately 12,604,000 in 1930, are Filipinos. The total population of Porto Rico according to the census of 1930 is 1,543,913, of whom about two-thirds are white, mostly of Spanish descent, and one-third colored.

In 1917 when the Virgin Islands were taken over by the United

States, Negroes and persons of mixed race comprised 24,000 of the population and whites less than 2,000. In 1930 the total population was 22,012. Chamorros, native inhabitants, comprise almost nine-tenths of the population (18,509) of the Island of Guam. The majority of the inhabitants of American Samoa (10,055) are native Polynesians.

*Alaska.*¹ Alaska has in each of the judicial districts a Board of Children's Guardians, composed of the judge of the district court, the United States Marshal and one woman citizen appointed by the governor. The board is charged with the legal guardianship of all white children under sixteen years of age committed to it by the juvenile court on account of destitution, neglect, or delinquency. It provides for dependent children by paying for their maintenance in institutions or with families. The care of dependent native children is provided for in institutions under the control of the Federal Office of Indian Affairs.

Alaska has a mothers' aid law similar to such laws in the Continental United States. The district Boards of Children's Guardians administer this law; grants are made by juvenile courts, but all awards require the approval of the governor. An act of 1905 provided that part of the revenue derived by the federal government from business and trade licenses should be returned to the Territory. Ten per cent of this Alaska Fund is disbursed by judges for the relief of destitution. During the year ending June 30, 1930, \$21,400 were thus made available for relief work.

Hawaii. Each of the four counties of Hawaii has its Board of Child Welfare, appointed by the governor for administration of mothers' pensions. Juvenile delinquents are dealt with by juvenile courts. Honolulu, with a population of 137,582 in 1930, has a number of important social welfare agencies, including the United Welfare Fund which raises funds for the maintenance of various organizations, a Council of Social Agencies, and the Social Service Bureau which engages in family service and relief and allied activities. The Board of Child Welfare of the county administers mothers' pensions with the assistance of the Social Service Bureau which makes investigations and supervises the grants. Honolulu has five child caring institutions receiving support from the United Welfare Fund. A child placement committee, representing various social agencies and the juvenile court, serves as a clearing house for all applications for the admission of children to these institutions. This committee

¹ Only fragmentary information is available on local activities in several of the Territories and islands as no first-hand studies exist.

also places dependent children in family homes, utilizing the services of the Social Service Bureau. The juvenile court of the county is a branch of the court of domestic relations.

The Philippine Islands. In the Philippine Islands the office of Public Welfare Commissioner was established in 1921, with the following functions: maternity and child hygiene work, through the establishment of puericulture centers throughout the islands for the reduction of infant mortality; the care of dependent, destitute, and delinquent children; and the promotion and coordination of all government and private efforts for charitable purposes or tending to the betterment of living conditions in the islands.

The government conducts a group of child caring institutions, including the Government Orphanage, which on January 1, 1930, was caring for 316 boys and girls; the home for healthy children of leper parents, providing for 164 children; the Philippine Training School for Boys, with a population of 1,030; and the Philippine Training School for Girls, caring for 120. The Office of the Public Welfare Commissioner provides investigation and probation service for courts in Manila and some other provinces. One of the commissioner's functions is to promote the work of private charitable organizations. The government gives financial aid to a number of such institutions and agencies, and the commissioner also provides technical aid for organizations requesting such service.

Porto Rico. In Porto Rico the Insular Department of Health has under its jurisdiction two government *asiles* for dependent children, one for boys with a capacity of 400, one for girls with a capacity of 300. These institutions are intended primarily for half-orphan or orphan children of legitimate parentage; they are filled to capacity and there is a large waiting list. The Reform School for Boys, with a population of approximately 600, is under the Department of Justice. There is no public institution for delinquent girls. The School for the Blind is under the Department of Health, and the School for the Deaf is conducted by Roman Catholic Sisters, with a subsidy from the government. There is no provision for institutional care of feeble-minded children, though it is urgently needed.

The hurricane of September, 1928, in which 271 people were killed and more than three thousand injured, left a third of the population of Porto Rico destitute. This disaster accentuated the already extreme conditions of poverty, overcrowding, and undernourishment which existed in the island. In the words of Governor Roosevelt:

"The population are afflicted by diseases of many kinds. The death rate from tuberculosis was higher than that of any other place in the Western Hemisphere and four and a half times the total rate in Continental United States. Our death rate from malaria was two and a half times the rate in Continental United States . . . some 35,000 people in our island are now suffering from tuberculosis, some 200,000 from malaria and some 600,000 from hookworm."

In regard to the remedies that have been undertaken Governor Roosevelt reports as follows:

"The problem divided itself roughly into two parts. The first of these was the immediate necessity. That embodied feeding the children; some 60 per cent were greatly undernourished, many of them on the verge of starvation. In order to effect this we appealed to certain organizations in the Continental United States. When President Hoover heard of conditions here he arranged that the American Child Health Association should visit the island. As a result of their report, the American Relief Association Children's Fund, Inc., contributed \$100,000."

At the special request of President Hoover for a study of the situation "from a health, a nutritional and a social point of view so far as it affects children," the American Child Health Association has been studying conditions in Porto Rico during 1930.

The association reports (Child Health Bulletin, July, 1930) that in 1929 the infant mortality rate in Porto Rico was 179 as against 69 in the Continental United States. The conclusions of the committee of the American Child Health Association on the basis of its observations in Porto Rico are:

Poverty is the common lot of the majority of the rural people, with extreme destitution of thousands in the larger cities; the chief factors in the production of this age-old condition are unemployment and the very low wage scale of the employed, widespread illness from the anemia-producing diseases, and overcrowding.

The majority of the rural people and a considerable minority of the urban population are suffering from hookworm infestation and other intestinal parasites; malaria is endemic on the coastal plains of the island, with frequent epidemic outbreaks affecting from 15 to 35 per cent of the people in the local epidemic area.

Because of unemployment and sickness from anemia-producing diseases, a considerable proportion of the population is constantly underfed and malnourished, with a resulting lowered resistance to disease, especially the infectious diseases.

The island is overpopulated, there being about four hundred persons to a square mile, with intensive congestion and overcrowding in the larger cities.

The serious economic situation of low wages and unemployment, with its concomitant lack of food, both as to quantity and quality, and the equal lack of proper housing and clothing; the heavy incidence of the anemia-producing diseases and the congestion and overcrowding, especially in the urban areas, create the optimum conditions for the incidence and spread of tuberculosis, the death rate of which has been constantly mounting during the past few years.

For many centuries illegitimacy has been one of the great social evils of the island; the 1920 Census shows that one-third of the marriages were illegal or so-called *consensual*, making for loose home ties and the easy and frequent abandonment of children, of which there are many thousands on the island.

After the report of the committee was presented to President Hoover, he requested that, in accordance with Governor Roosevelt's suggestion, the American Child Health Association head an organized effort of allied agencies to work in conjunction with the insular government to ameliorate the conditions described. The Porto Rico Child Health Committee was formed as a result of this request.

On July 1, 1930, the Porto Rican Department of Justice included the salary of a probation officer in its budget, and the woman selected for the position was sent to the United States to study courts and probation service. Juvenile courts have been established in seven districts. Porto Rico does not have provision for mothers' pensions, as do Alaska and Hawaii. A mothers' aid bill was considered in the 1931 session of the legislature. There is no child placing activity. Various sectarian and other groups conduct institutions for dependent children and provide aid for the destitute. The American Red Cross has conducted an active home service program.

An Insular Child Welfare Board was established in 1925 by an act of the legislature which was amended in 1927. The functions of the Board are: to study all problems affecting childhood and legislation on the subject; to inspect institutions, public and private,

for the shelter or benefit of children, including asylums, charity schools, and reform schools caring for children under the age of eighteen years; to report to the attorney-general failure of institutions to comply with recommendations made; to render a biennial report. The board has had no appropriations for its work.

In 1930, following the study by the American Child Health Association, \$25,000 of the \$100,000 set aside from the American Relief Fund was given to the Insular Bureau of Social Medicine to supplement local funds for the distribution of milk to undernourished babies under two years of age, through milk stations in each of the 77 municipalities and 20 milk stations in rural areas. Local committees have been organized in connection with each station.

A recent development of special importance to child welfare has been in connection with the Second Unit Schools which provide education from the fourth to the ninth grades in rural sections. Provision has been made for 32 such schools with a plan for gradual expansion. The curriculum includes the manual and industrial arts, agriculture, and home economics. In May, 1931, 29 social workers were working with these schools, acting as a liaison between the schools and communities and the families of the children. A plan of specialized social work for these workers has been inaugurated as a part of summer school courses.

Recent Appropriations and Present Activities. The Maternity and Infancy Act, as previously mentioned, was extended to Hawaii in 1924. Proposals for legislation to continue the type of work carried on under this act, which expired June 30, 1929, included Alaska, Hawaii, Porto Rico, and the Philippine Islands.

Federal aid under the Vocational Education and Vocational Rehabilitation Acts was made available to the Territory of Hawaii in 1924, providing continuing appropriations of \$10,000 for vocational education and \$5,000 for vocational rehabilitation. These allotments are available for expenditure under a plan submitted by the Hawaiian Vocational Board and approved by the Federal Board of Vocational Education. Hawaii has not accepted the Vocational Rehabilitation Act. Porto Rico will receive grants for vocational education and vocational rehabilitation under an act of March 3, 1931, which becomes effective for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1932. This act provides for continuing annual appropriations for Porto Rico of \$15,000 for vocational education and \$15,000 for the years 1932 and 1933 for vocational rehabilitation.

Through a federal appropriation, the University of Hawaii or-

ganized extension work in agriculture and home economics in 1928, in cooperation with the United States Department of Agriculture. Agricultural and home economics extension work was organized at the Alaska Agricultural College and School of Mines, July 1, 1930. Only a small federal appropriation is available for the work. There are no territorial funds for extension work at the present time. Under the George-Reed Act appropriations have been made for Porto Rico of \$30,000 annually through the end of the fiscal year 1934, for agricultural education and the same amount for trade and industrial education and for home economics education.

The federal government has assumed special responsibility for the education and medical relief of the natives of Alaska, a function which was transferred March 16, 1931, from the Office of Education to the Office of Indian Affairs of the Department of the Interior. The appropriation for this purpose for the year ending June 30, 1930, was \$168,000. Medical and nursing services are provided. Three industrial boarding schools have been maintained by the federal government for native children, and in 1930 an orphanage was established at Tanaga to care for orphaned native children until they are of proper age to be transferred to the industrial boarding schools.

Educational research has been promoted in the Philippines by a large gift from the International Board of Education.

The American Red Cross has performed important services in the various Territories and insular possessions. In the Philippine Islands the Red Cross has one chapter and 49 provincial branches. Under a law enacted by the insular government the chapter has been designated as the official relief agency of the islands. During the fiscal year 1929 to 1930 the Red Cross chapter handled several major disasters, and a staff averaging 70 nurses was engaged in public health work. Porto Rico has one Red Cross chapter and 77 branches. Relief work has been continued to meet the needs created by the 1928 hurricane. In the Hawaiian Islands instruction in home hygiene and care of the sick was given during the past year to 24 classes, and other health projects have been carried on. In the Virgin Islands the Red Cross has two chapters devoted to "teaching the inhabitants the fundamental principles of personal hygiene and independent living." The Red Cross nurses have cooperated with the doctors of the United States Navy in giving physical examinations to school children and in treating cases of trachoma. The Junior Red Cross has provided medicine, clothing, dental and medical treatment for school children in several of the Territories and insular possessions.

Porto Rico has been the object of special studies by a number of federal and private national organizations. The Children's Bureau undertook in 1921 a comprehensive child welfare study and demonstration which took the form of a Children's Year Campaign. As a result of these studies great stimulus was given to the organization of child health work in the island. Attention to the needs of blind children and homeless children, and development of recreational programs were also included in the bureau's activities. Follow-up visits were made in 1923. In 1927 a study of child health was made by the Children's Bureau with the special object of determining whether rickets were prevalent, but a great deal of other information concerning diet and nutrition was also obtained. In 1931, at the request of Governor Roosevelt, the bureau sent a member of its staff to study the provision for dependent children and assist in developing a more adequate program for this group.

Assistance from federal bureaus and other national agencies such as the Public Health Service, the Children's Bureau and the Office of Education is available to the Territories and insular possessions as it is to the states, and considerable attention has been given to some of the parts of our national territory. In practice, however, the distance of some of the areas from the Continental United States makes it difficult to keep in close touch with the development of their child welfare activities.

RELATIONSHIPS OF NATIONAL AND LOCAL
AGENCIES

RELATIONSHIPS OF NATIONAL AND LOCAL AGENCIES

MANY types of child welfare work in the United States have reached the present stage of development largely through the activities of nationally organized movements in some one specialized form of social work for children. These agencies sometimes originated in groups of local people interested in a particular type of work with children, which have federated to carry out a common objective, such as increasing the efficiency of their local work, or spreading to unorganized communities their particular interests and form of organization. Other national organizations have been started by small groups of individuals forming a country-wide committee to promote a definite interest. Some of these have expanded into large organizations, some have remained small, some by organizing local units have decentralized and reorganized as federations. The professional associations made up of individuals all over the country engaged in different types of social work and the organizations which give research or financial assistance to local work should also be included among the national agencies. The place of child welfare differs in the programs of these agencies. Some have a generalized social work program which includes definite work with children, some a social work program in which work with children is incidental, while some are primarily concerned with children. Among these are included the national organizations with a purpose other than social work, which as part of their national program undertake some work for children, for example, some of the service clubs.

Note: Report of the Committee on National Private Agencies, Walter W. Pettit, Chairman.

In reading the statements of the executives in local and state social work which follow, the reader should bear in mind that organizations which are national in scope present the greatest possible diversity of origin, organization, functions, aims, personnel, and relationships to local social work organizations, and that further, this diversity extends to the organizations' programs for children.

Some national agencies do not enter the local situation except by invitation of their local member agency; others with no local members aim to interest local people in the particular program of their national organizations. In the first instance cooperation with the local organizations is almost certain to occur as the national agency may be only a federation of local associations; in the second, cooperation will depend upon many factors, and will vary greatly from agency to agency. There is an interesting discussion of the organization of national agencies in the *Interrelation Study* published by the National Information Bureau, New York City, 1923.

The development of formal relationships between social agencies owes its origin to local efforts and, in its present form, is scarcely a decade old. It has permeated the field of national social work activity more slowly than it has the local field. There are, however, definite evidences of a trend toward closer interrelationship of national social work agencies with one another and with local agencies.

State and local agencies have a definite responsibility in their relations with national organizations. There is certainly a function for the national social work agency, and the local agency ought to do its best to cooperate with it.

This large group of privately organized national social work associations in the field of child welfare has been studied from at least three standpoints: their interrelations with each other; the amount of cooperation in their approach to local committees and associations; their relationship to state departments of public welfare, and to local organizations whose purpose is to unify social work activities, as for instance, local councils of social agencies.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

The survey was limited to inquiries by correspondence, and interviews in New York City.

On January 29, 1930, a letter was sent to the 48 states, asking the state departments of public welfare or other similar bodies to state their own programs in the field of child welfare, as well as their experience with national private agencies in the same field, a list of which was sent them. The following questionnaire was enclosed:

QUESTIONNAIRE SENT TO NATIONAL AGENCIES

1. Will you send us a statement of your program in so far as it deals with the field of child welfare?
2. With what other national social work organizations do you cooperate, and how?
3. To what extent do you secure information from other national agencies before you do an organization job in a local community?
4. What specific considerations determine your decision as to starting a local work?
5. Whom do you consult in the local community, or among the state authorities, before initiating a program in a local community?

The limitations of this method and the fact that due allowance would have to be made for a wide deviation in the types of the state departments and agencies approached, their differing programs, and to some extent, their personnel, as well as for the general position of each state in regard to the development of welfare programs were recognized. Twenty-six states replied, but not all had helpful comments to make.

On March 13, 1930, another letter was sent to 65 national private agencies, to which there were 46 replies. Further inquiry was made by individual letter, on the same date, to 64 community chests and councils of social agencies, so selected as to represent the entire country; there were 26 replies.

COMMENTS OF NATIONAL AGENCIES

The national agencies replying to the questions asked them emphasize their desire to work out their problems in harmony with other agencies interested in similar problems. Most of them state that they cooperate with one another and with local agencies in their child welfare work.

Those national social work agencies which are federations or partial federations of local organizations, or are in process of transferring responsibility for the direction of their national organization to local groups, seem strongly influenced by attitudes of local groups. If there is cooperation in local agency relations, it is probable that it will be reflected at national headquarters. This point must be kept in mind in considering many of the questions discussed.

On the other hand, another group of national social work agencies less dependent on local agencies, frequently is carrying on propaganda for some child welfare purpose. The contact which this group has with states and cities may be for the purpose of securing the adoption of legislation or of influencing public sentiment. In such associations there is not a close relationship between the national and the local affiliated organizations, and some of this group of more highly centralized national agencies state frankly their inability to cooperate to the extent that they may desire, because of local opposition to their special objective. Others look upon cooperation with local agencies as a means of promoting the efficiency of their own program and apparently do not recognize the advantages accruing from it to child welfare work as a whole.

Cooperation

The recognition of common problems has resulted in the development of considerable cooperation among national social work agencies. A number of the national agencies, in their replies, mention their membership in the National Social Work Council. This is an organization the objectives of

which are to help the member agencies to exchange information, to provide for regular conferences among workers, and, through committee action, to provide for investigation and study of common problems. Apparently this relationship is felt by the agencies which belong to it to be most valuable in clarifying one another's points of view.

Replies from some of the national agencies seem to indicate that they are more conscious of their functional relations than they are of their professional unity. Some of the agencies working in a special phase of child welfare told of consulting other national agencies in the same field, but did not seem interested in getting in touch with national agencies in allied fields. The necessary correlation of all social work effort, which is becoming more important year by year so far as the local community is concerned, is apparently not recognized by some of the national agencies.

On the other hand, at least one agency states that it enters the local community only after conference with other national agencies in the field. Several of the national agencies state that they confer with other national agencies in order to get information regarding a community. This may indicate either a desire to make their own work more effective or an attempt to see their own work as part of the total social work pattern and to get the reaction of other national agencies on their own plans.

An apparent failure of national agencies to cooperate either among themselves or with local agencies, is doubtless occasionally due to the personalities of the social workers involved. One or two of the national agencies recognize this in their replies. Even where the national agency has a policy of working harmoniously with other agencies in the field, an unfortunate field representative may be guilty of extremely uncooperative activities. This was pointed out in the replies from departments of public welfare, several of which stated that certain unfortunate experiences they had had with national agencies were due to the local personnel rather than to any general policy.

Although most of the national agencies express their

desire to cooperate, the comments of some of them regarding their relations with other national agencies reveal that they are not wholeheartedly interested in either the entire field of child welfare or the relations of child welfare to other problems of social work. One of the national agencies states that it rarely consults anybody, and that when it does, it is unlikely to do what is advised.

Attitude toward State and Local Organizations

Relationship between national agencies and state and local organizations is on the whole closer than it is among the national agencies themselves, except for the members of the National Social Work Council. Practically all of the national organizations assert that they cooperate closely with local organizations, or at least try to do so, apparently feeling that local and state people are in a position to be of great assistance to them. One of the national agencies comments that it is best to get in touch with local and state agencies. Several claim they have to go to local organizations in order to get information regarding their own local work; and several others place their relationship with local organizations on a more general basis of help which they secure. One national agency finds that local organizations are a much better source for certain types of information than other national organizations, and accordingly cooperates with kindred movements in the local community rather than with national organizations. From one of the national organizations we have this comment: "There has been cooperation with another organization that seemed likely to help accomplish our purpose . . . sometimes it has been thought self-reliance and independent action was the best method to produce results."

Many of the national agencies, however, indicate that their contact with local organizations is not so individualistic. Several of them say that they never enter a local situation except on invitation, although occasionally the national organization takes the initiative to secure such an invitation.

Several national organizations conduct studies in cooperation with local representatives and frequently find the contact with the local council of social agencies of value. The basis of organization of a national agency, as has been already pointed out, is of great importance in these relationships. A national agency which is the result of a federation of local agencies will reflect the local point of view and be much more likely to develop cooperative relations with local and state activities. On the other hand, some of the agencies which are primarily interested in propaganda frankly admit that they cannot always expect invitations from the local agency and base their decision as to whether to carry on their educational program in a certain locality on their own analysis of the situation. One of them says: "We feel the need and enter, though we confer at once with the leading social workers." Another says the local agencies "have to be shown."

In communities where intelligent and socially minded laymen are affiliated with the social workers of the community in councils of social agencies studying the local social work situation, or where state departments with local programs are influencing community work, it would seem that a national agency should consult these local people. It was, therefore, deemed necessary to secure the experience of a number of the executives of councils of social agencies throughout the country, as well as state departments of public welfare.

COMMENTS OF STATE DEPARTMENTS

The replies from the secretaries of state departments of public welfare or similar bodies in answer to the question as to how much contact has been had with representatives of national social agencies, were illuminating primarily because of the lack of such contacts. This lack is sometimes due to a failure on the part of the national agency to recognize the interest of the state in the proposed project. In other instances, however, a number of the national agencies have

not visited the states; and in still others the state departments would have no direct interest in the particular matter under consideration.

Representatives of the departments of public welfare have been consulted by the field workers of some of the national social work agencies in a few states in the east and southeast. In several states representatives of some of the national social work agencies have been asked for help by departments of public welfare. In many cases the secretaries of the departments of public welfare have little if any contact with the field representatives of national agencies with whose work in their states they are acquainted. They report that this is true of national agencies working directly with local agencies with which the department of public welfare is in contact, as well as of national agencies working in fields in which the department of public welfare is not directly interested. Several states mention contacts with but two or three of the long list of national agencies submitted to the secretary of the state department.

It is evident from many of the responses from state departments that the state officials would welcome closer contacts with representatives of the national agencies. In the states where the most frequent contacts exist, state officials have gone more than half way to meet representatives of national agencies. In a few cases the department holds membership in the national agency concerned. In other cases it acts as the state representative of the national agency. Departments sometimes have written to the national agency requesting a call from a field representative, or have spoken to local associations affiliated with the national agency, suggesting the possibility of establishing contact.

The secretaries of state departments of public welfare who reported seem to feel that the national organizations can do much to assist local organizations to improve their standards and techniques. Some of the state department executives suggest that national organizations, even if they have no direct control over local associations in the same field, can make a contribution by bringing questions of better

ways of organizing and carrying on the local work before the local organizations.

Several of the state department executives suggest reasons for the lack of more intimate relations between state departments and field representatives of national agencies. In one case the state executive writes that her own department is comparatively recently established, and that possibly national agencies do not know of its existence. In another case the existing state department has expanded its functions and expresses doubt as to whether the national agencies concerned are aware of this. In this particular instance national agencies are continuing to supervise the activities of local associations which have now become partially state organizations through the appropriation of public funds for their use. The state department in question feels that such supervision could be much better done through it than directly with the local associations, inasmuch as the local associations are placed by law under the supervision of the state department. In still another case the reason given for the failure of the field representatives of national agencies to get in touch with the department of public welfare is that the state capitol is somewhat removed from the more important cities which the representatives would be most likely to visit. In some cases, however, the state department feels that the representatives of the national agencies have purposely neglected to call on the state department; in several cases it is reported that national agencies are promoting activities or legislation directly opposed to the policies of the state department.

In many states the department of public welfare is gradually expanding its interests to include more and more child welfare problems. It is developing an interest in what might be termed generalized social work as opposed to specialized social work in the child welfare field. Most national agencies, on the other hand, are organized to deal with very specialized phases of social work. Persons connected with departments of public welfare have suggested that this specialization results in an unfortunate lack of perspective on the

entire social work field. A national agency has been known to press legislation for some special phase of social work without considering local opinion as to the relations of such legislation to other phases of social work. A national agency in one state, entirely ignoring the existence of the state department of public welfare, has started local branches and then been forced to secure the endorsement of the department for them after organization was completed.

A national agency studying the child caring or protective agencies of a state should file its findings with the state department of welfare. In this way the state department, which is sometimes legally required to supervise private children's agencies, could better coordinate this work with that of the local organization and avoid the duplication of existing activities. This latter point, which occasionally develops into what seems rivalry between some national agencies in the establishment of local associations, is decried by state departments, and several of them suggest that some types of national agencies would be in a much better position if they were able to cooperate with one another and exchange information about local situations before entering communities.

Since state departments apparently feel that the national agencies present something of a unity, the failures of a single national agency reflect upon other national agencies. There is thus a reciprocal obligation as between national, state, and local agencies to seek better mutual understanding as to their relative functions. In several instances state departments of public welfare have been forced to close branches of national agencies, and there is some intimation that the unfortunate attendant publicity is harmful to all national movements.

Several state departments of public welfare suggest that where the personnel is trained and cooperative, national agencies have helpful contacts with the state departments. Here again, an unfortunate choice of the local representative, rather than an unfriendly policy on the part of the national agency, seems to be responsible for many of the

difficulties. This obstacle and the fact that some of the field representatives have to cover such enormous territory that their contacts with the state department or with local associations occur so rarely as to be almost futile, have prompted the suggestion that in some parts of the country it would be useful for a number of national agencies to unite, giving a generalized service to a limited territory. In this way the field worker, representing the national agencies concerned, could give more intensive help to the local activities in sections where the population is sparse and the distances great.

With a tendency away from extreme specialization toward generalized social work in many places, the question arises of organizing at least a demonstration area in which an attempt at generic field work for national agencies could be made. Such a coordination of the programs of national agencies might make it possible to develop new organizations carefully planned to meet the local needs and utilize family and community technique in the process. While this suggestion originated with secretaries of departments of public welfare, additional emphasis is given to it by local people who protest that they have difficulty securing an unbiased and impartial survey of local social and community conditions and needs. A generalized social worker, representing a number of national agencies, might provide this more detached outlook on social problems.

COOPERATION

According to the responses from the secretaries of councils of social agencies and community chests there is a great difference in the degree of cooperation of national social agencies with local organizations. There is also, apparently, a great difference of opinion among these executives as to the value of the contribution of national agencies. Some report that most national agencies do not cooperate with local councils, though as a rule no attempt is made to explain what is meant by cooperation. In one eastern city it was stated that, for a certain period, six national agencies had been

working in the city and only one had attempted any contact with the offices of the council of social agencies.

A number of the executives of chests and councils, on the other hand, assert that national agencies invariably cooperate with the local groups. Several of the letters received attempt to classify the national agencies on the basis of this cooperation. National agencies formed as federations of local agencies, as has already been said, are apparently much more likely to recognize local councils and chests than are those which one letter calls the "evangelical type."

In one case, the national agency apparently feels that its primary function is to increase the efficiency of the local group with which it is affiliated and which may be responsible for its own existence. Another national agency, on the other hand, is propagandizing and attempting to sell some social panacea to the local people. This difference in function of national organizations may be partly responsible for the great difference in the personnel employed in the field by the various national agencies, which is remarked by the local people.

While it is extremely interesting to find a recognition of the difference of the objectives and standards of national social agencies on the part of executives of local councils of social agencies and chests, it is somewhat disappointing to realize the extent to which local people think of national agencies as a unit. This study was concerned with those having some contact with the field of child welfare. Several letters mentioned the national group as a whole, and again and again accusations were made against all national social work agencies which could not possibly apply to some of those which have been studied.

Some executives of councils of social agencies and community chests question whether some of the national social work agencies in the child welfare field are conscious of the fact that there has been a decided change in the organization and theories of social work in local situations. It is pointed out that in recent years much of the social work in the larger cities has become better organized, more effi-

ciently staffed, and much more adequately financed. The emphasis of a national social work agency, which a decade ago might have been focused on spreading its particular solution for social maladjustment, now ought to be centered on helping a local agency in a city to work out its function more satisfactorily.

Social work has changed, some of these letters point out, from the propaganda to the administrative stage, and national agencies have not always recognized this. The service which a national agency can render a well organized city may have completely changed in the past decade. An occasional local representative writes that there is no longer any part for the national organizations to play in local situations. The great majority, however, seem to be aware that there is work to be done by an outside organization, but think that the type of work has changed. This investigation indicated that some of the national agencies are aware of this fact and are modifying their programs accordingly.

The development of some form of council of social agency and chest in almost all of our large American cities has of necessity still further influenced the functioning of national agencies. A strongly developed council of social agencies with active functional divisions may well be carrying on some of the work formerly done by the national agency. The delimitation of the area of an agency's activities, the working out of relationships with other agencies in similar fields, the stress on improvement of techniques, now may come primarily from the council of social agencies. Since the development of the chest, the determination of the budget of the local organization is largely in the hands of those representing local interests rather than national.

Another angle to this discussion of change in social work in recent years, emphasized by some executives in the field, is an apparent change in the philosophy of social work itself. Social work, originally concentrating on economic problems, has progressed through various stages to a recognition of the relationships of an individual in his group and his community as important factors in attacking maladjustments.

Some executives of councils of social agencies, and, to a certain extent, those of community chests, are aware of this. The executive of a local social agency or local council of social agencies is the first to feel that his chief community problem is the lack of any feeling of social responsibility. This community integration which a chamber of commerce from one angle, or the service clubs from another angle, are striving to achieve, may well be the thing most needed in the solution of social maladjustments. An expert technique in this field has hardly been developed yet, but some councils of social agencies feel that the national agencies have been slow to realize this change of philosophy, and that at least some of them might well transfer a part of their efforts from the old emphasis on service to this new integration of social relations.

The secretary of a council of social agencies in one of the southern cities complains that national agencies fail to recognize that their local interests are not their own personal property any longer, but are, rather, a part of the social work fabric of the particular city. This change undoubtedly has come through the recent cooperation of activities among local social work agencies, and these agencies quite naturally feel some resentment towards any national agency which has failed to adjust itself to the new situation.

Some of the executives point out the very considerable contribution which national agencies have made in forming new movements and in helping existing agencies do a more efficient job. A number speak of the efficient studies which have been carried on by national agencies at the request of the local groups. One mentions "very satisfactory relations" with national agencies, another, the fact that "national agencies have been tremendously valuable." The executive of the council of social agencies in one of our largest cities, however, states that in the many years in which he has been interested in establishing a community spirit in the social work field, only four national agencies have been of any help to him in community planning.

Failure on the part of the national agencies to appre-

ciate the efforts of local agencies toward developing a community spirit may be in part responsible for the lack of sympathy between the two. When the local council of social agencies is closely related to central financing, antagonism of local toward national agencies may be increased. The national agency may have taken money out of a local community for various national purposes against the wishes of the local people. One of the executives asserts that his only contact with national agencies is in the financial field. Several state that the national agencies go ahead and make independent financial appeals without regard to the community chest.

There is a lack of agreement as to the extent to which national agencies on the whole are able to adjust their programs to local situations; where such adjustment is not made there is obviously much antagonism towards national agencies. Two or three letters complain that the national agency wants a local branch regardless of whether such local branch may be needed. Several point out that the national agency proceeds with a national program which it insists on having duplicated in every locality, regardless of the special needs of the locality. On the other hand, several executives feel that certain national agencies have succeeded in adjusting their programs to the local situation most satisfactorily.

That much of this opposition comes from the point already made that local people do not distinguish between the various types of national social agencies is evidenced by the suggestion in several of the letters that autocratic superimposed national programs will be forced to cease, and that the councils of social agencies will no longer permit such developments. In at least one of the replies received it is apparent that the writer has attributed to many of the national agencies this implication of autocracy failing to distinguish what seems to be a trend toward national federations of local agencies with little or no control in the national office.

Local agencies, in general, believe that national agencies do not cooperate with one another to the extent that they

themselves have been learning to do. Out of the 18 most complete replies, 10 stress the fact that the lack of such cooperation is obvious. Several mention the National Social Work Council as an extremely healthy development in the national field, but point out that only a limited number of national agencies belong to it. Several feel that this lack of cooperation among national agencies results in making more difficult the efforts of the local council of social agencies to develop cooperation among its own agencies. In one city, for instance, the council of social agencies requested a national agency to make a study of the child welfare situation. Three local organizations thereupon requested their own national agencies to come into the field, and all four agencies responded with no previous cooperation whatsoever. While "the representatives of all these national agencies maintained at least the appearance of reasonably good team work as far as their activities in this community brought them together . . . it does not appear that the combined findings of the four will be immediately available for consideration by one central group in this community as we feel would have been desirable."

Several letters received from representatives of local councils point out that some of the national agencies give the impression to the local people of being in competition with one another. Examples are cited, in a number of letters, of national agencies attempting to organize in a city when another similar agency was already organized in the same field. The experience of the local agencies has shown that social work is fundamentally a unified process and that the efficiency of any one agency, whether it be local or national, is dependent upon the way its program fits into the programs of the other agencies in the field. If all the national agencies realized this and put it into practice in their work in each locality, most of the difficulties in relationships which have been suggested here would disappear and this in turn would make for greater success in carrying out the social work programs of the organizations.

RECOMMENDATIONS

These recommendations have been submitted to a number of executives of national agencies and numerous helpful suggestions have come from them, many of which are incorporated in this list.

1. Some plan should be provided to enable representatives of all national social work agencies to meet and exchange information, along the lines of the National Social Work Council.
2. In addition to such meetings, an opportunity should be provided for similar cooperation between agencies working in the same general field of activity.
3. National social work agencies planning work in states where departments of public welfare or other state departments in their particular field are organized should discuss their plans with the representatives of such departments.
4. Representatives of national agencies, before undertaking any work in local communities, should be careful to make contacts with local councils of social agencies functioning either separately or with a chest.
5. National social work agencies planning to solicit funds in a city should make a greater effort to consult representatives of local chests and councils.
6. National social work agencies should devote more care to the selection of qualified trained personnel.
7. National social work agencies should recognize that in certain cities so great a common interest among social work agencies has developed, that a local agency's loyalty is primarily to the organization of local social work agencies.
8. Encouragement and criticism rather than direction and control should be the function of national social work agencies in their relation to local agencies.

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